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The process and content of community education for participatory community planning in two towns in Massachusetts.

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THE PROCESS AND CONTENT OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY PLANNING IN TWO TOWNS IN MASSACHUSETTS

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

THE PROCESS AND CONTENT OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

FOR PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY PLANNING

IN TWO TOWNS IN MASSACHUSETTS

MAY 1993

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This study begins by reviewing the literature on community education, identifying two major strands, the progressive, exemplified by Elsie Ripley Clapp, and the conservative. The literature on citizen participation in planning, especially land-use planning, is reviewed and again two major forms are identified, the strong and the weak. A third review chapter examines relationships between education, planning, and democracy.

A survey of environmental and planning professionals is used to create a starting list of categories for further qualitative research. Two towns are chosen for their small size, their rural character, their recent history, and their open Town Meeting-Board of Selectmen form of government. This form of local government, peculiar to New England, includes a local legislative body responsible for local law and taxation open to all registered voters, together with an executive branch. Citizens of these towns are therefore

empowered by definition on at least one level to act regarding local political and economic conditions.

Recent records of planning board meetings are examined and compared with the survey of professionals, resulting in the addition of several categories. The results of two series of community meetings is recorded, and there is a discussion of barriers to participation. The results of a survey of citizens in the two towns, the most successful aspect of the study, and one which again resulted in several more categories being derived, is then reported.

The results of this triangulated study are summarized and discussed in the final chapter, which includes a discussion of the stimulation of motivation for participation. This discussion is based on the proposition that a reasonable expectation of positive action resulting from participation is a precondition for the stimulation of motivation. This realization of this expectation may be hampered by the powerful effects of outside political and economic forces but may be facilitated through increased self-reliance for basic needs satisfaction, enabling further empowerment.

A final note concerns the implications for local government of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which could allow citizens formerly unable to participate increased access to participation in decision making.

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INTRODUCTION

Chapters One through Three are literature reviews. Chapter One is a survey of the literature, history and development of community education, along with relevant information from pedagogy and adult education. A difference between progressive and conservative forms of community education, as exemplified by Elsie Ripley Clapp and Frank Manley, is postulated and demonstrated.

Chapter Two is a review of the literature of citizen participation in land-use planning, a relatively recent phenomenon; the idea itself, as currently understood, came out of the Great Society. One of the defining papers was written just in 1969 (Arnstein); she represents a strong position, advocating real citizen power. This can be contrasted with, for example, Creighton's (1981) weaker approach.

The difference between the strong and weak forms of citizen participation is similar to the difference found in progressive and conservative forms of community education. On the progressive, strong side there is the idea that people ought to be able to form their own curriculum, using it for their own purposes (in community education) and should have the power to make land use decisions that affect them (in planning). On the conservative side, citizen action takes place within spheres pre-determined by existing power players and structure; the Judeo-Christian/civil

religion tradition of community education and the existing political structures in planning.

Chapter Three is an examination of a broad range of literature which sheds light on the relationships between education, planning and democracy. At any level of participation, people have to know some basic information before they can participate effectively. It may be suggested here that the stronger the form of participation, the more citizens have to know to act effectively. For instance, if citizens in town do not realize that there are alternatives to dependence on the current global political economy, they will be unable to take the steps necessary to disengage their basic needs from that system.

In Chapter Four, the heart of the research is begun. Results are reported from a survey of environmental and planning officials about what citizens in towns ought to know about planning in order to participate in decision making. The method of analysis is qualitative; categories of concern or interest are derived from an analysis and subsequent synthesis of the content of answers to open-ended questions. This methodology is also used in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. The purpose of this preliminary study was to generate a "start list" of categories for use in the subsequent analysis in those chapters.

In Chapter Five, a brief historical, environmental, economic and social background to the towns studied is given. (Because of concerns regarding confidentiality,

pseudonyms are given for both the names of the towns and the names of individuals.) Various census data are examined to help give an understanding of the nature of the two towns and their changes from 1980 to 1990.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight contain the results of this three-part (triangulated) study. Detailed information may be found within each chapter; following is an overview of the methodology.

Chapter Six is a review of the planning records of the two towns. Minutes of Planning Board meetings over the course of about three years were analyzed (again, by qualitative content) and several additional categories were added to the list generated in Chapter Four.

Chapter Seven is a survey of the results of community meetings offered as part of this study and a section on barriers to participation. The meetings were generally poorly attended; only one category was derived from this process. Questions regarding the stimulation of motivation for participation are covered in Chapter Nine as part of the general discussion.

Chapter Eight is an examination of the results of two community surveys (see Appendices A and B), which were the most enlightening part of this study. Questionnaires were sent out to every seventh person on the voter registration lists, resulting in a large volume of data. These were subjected to qualitative content analysis, generating more categories and completing the third part of the research.

Chapter Nine is a summary of the study and a discussion of the results as a whole. The question of motivation in participation is discussed in terms of providing a reasonable expectation of a positive result from participation. As matters stand now, most of the political and economic factors influencing town citizens are generated outside of the citizens' scope of participation. This observation is followed by the suggestion that the more self-reliant towns are in the satisfaction of the basic needs and aspirations of their citizens, the greater expectation citizens may have of their participation influencing their daily lives. This might in turn increase participation.

A final note should be made of the occasional use of the first person singular. I have decided upon this form for two reasons; first, it is the form preferred, for various reasons, by the chair of my doctoral committee, and secondly, it provides a useful governor for those interpreting the results of qualitative research.

The derivation of categories is at heart, while based on disciplinary understanding, a matter of personal interpretation. Likewise, the actions taken in the communities are the results of a whole person, a listening, sympathetic heart as well as an objective mind (assuming an objective mind is itself possible). Substituting "the writer" for "I" seems simply to sidestep the philosophical question of objectivity while not actually depersonalizing

the writer effectively. Such an attempted depersonalization may not even be ultimately desirable, even if it is possible, as it seems more forthright to acknowledge that one's whole being is involved in the research at hand, especially in qualitative research, rather than to narrow artificially the range of one's concern.

CHAPTER I

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

The two concepts of community education, community and education, are very broad and thus difficult to define. Both areas of study have vast literatures and writers are not always careful in specifying what it is that is being discussed. Part of the definitional problem for both terms arises from the interconnectedness of all aspects of life: Humans are biological creatures living in a physical environment creating culture for profit (in its broadest sense) and pleasure. To the degree that humans are social, there is community, and to the degree that knowledge or understanding (cognitive, affective or psycho-motor) is created, perhaps expanded and/or refined, and communicated, there is education.

Following are some dimensions I suggest as useful in describing community and education. Various theorists have chosen various focuses within these broad terms as areas of study; differences can be found in the breadth as well as the center of focus.

Community can be seen as being comprised of structure and functional dimensions, i.e., geography and society. In the geographical dimension, one looks at the physical range of population and population density, defining such clusters as households, neighborhoods, towns, cities, states, etc.

In the social dimension, one can define a community as any identifiable group, including occupational, age, class, gender, or race; in short, any cultural group, so far as that group interacts.

Every geographical community is a unique mixture of these social variables. The major difference between one community and another may be any geographical or social factor. Furthermore, one may be said to be in a number of communities simultaneously. It is not easy to define exclusive boundaries in a community; inclusive definitions, which aim at defining some whole population, are preferred in the literature.

Education likewise has structural and functional dimensions. The function is expressed through the curriculum. One question is: Is the curriculum liberating or does it narrow the possibility of human endeavor? Another dichotomy within the area of curriculum is the difference between an a priori, subject-oriented curriculum and an ad hoc, or problem-oriented curriculum. In the first there is a goal of transmitting specific knowledge, which may or may not exist apart from any particular or general concern; in the second one is educated in and during the process of solving a problem, which may or may not be liberating, depending on the relevance of the problem to be solved.

The structural dimension of education can be seen in the locus of authority and the level of reduction of the

area of study (Reed and Loughran 1984). If knowledge or understanding is assumed to be in one person and transmitted to another, the locus of authority is external to the learner. If the curriculum is chosen by the learner and the learner assumes the responsibility of coming to an understanding of the subject or problem, the locus of authority is internal. Regarding the level of reduction: If the learner compartmentalizes areas of learning and progresses from one area of study to another without integrating them, the level of reduction is incremental; if learning is integrated and holistic, the level of reduction may be termed gestalt.

Community education can therefore mean many things. Perhaps it has as many meanings as there are people interested in the possibilities. Not all the permutations are necessarily represented in the literature, but there are some main streams of thought.

One of the broadest definitions is that of community education as "an operational philosophy of education," rather than as any specific program or process (Olsen and Clark, 1977, p. 101). "Community education is a philosophical concept which serves the entire community by providing for all of the educational needs of its community members" (Minzey and LeTarte, 1972, p. 19).

Nearly all writers would agree that community education is a process dedicated to the improvement of the community of individuals as part of a community; that is, that

community education is education <u>for</u> the community. Fewer writers stress that community education may be education not only for but <u>by</u> the community as well: This internal-authority approach seems congruent with the process of democratic development (Dewey, 1916) and, in welcoming the process of change, implies a constant evolution of sources of political and economic power. Examples of this approach can be termed real-world problem-solving approaches, which is one link between social change movements and physical and agricultural community development. Proponents of this approach include Clapp (1939), Dewey (1916), Everett (1938, p. vi), Horton (cited in Everett, 1938), Seay and Associates (1974, p. 42) and others.

There are, however, both conservative and progressive camps in community education. This distinction between these, especially in the United States, will form the bulk of this paper.

Some Early Educational Innovations

The idea of education as a community activity is ancient (Mayer, 1966), but the idea that a whole, integrated community could be both the donor and the recipient of education, a widely accepted tenet of community education, did not begin to grow until the seventeenth century.

Jan Comenius (1592-1670), a Utopian philosopher, advocated equal education for both the rich and poor classes. He believed in democracy and held the religious

view of a Christian mystic: The goal of education, for the individual, was to become Christ-like; this would in turn lead to world unity. Comenius was strongly influenced both by Francis Bacon and Ratich (1531-1635), who "believed in the use of the vernacular...who favored a system of experimental learning...[and who] stressed the importance of student interest" (Mayer, 1966). Comenius' fifth educational principle states, "In all the operations of nature development is from within;" this may be interpreted as anticipating the qualitative, process-oriented nature of community education.

Abbe de la Salle, in the late seventeenth century, anticipated a learner-centered curriculum, another progressive idea, considering the influence of authoritarian (though admittedly post-Reformation) Christianity (Mayer, 1966). Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) directed his attention to the child rather than the curriculum. Though it was specifically the male child on which he centered this attention, his commitment to the learner's perspective and innate capacities was relatively liberating, inspiring a new generation of thinkers to put their faith in human possibilities (Meyer, 1972). Johann Bernhardt Basedow (1724-1770) believed that neither social class standing nor gender should affect one's educational opportunities, and also proposed a learner-centered approach, believing that children should receive an experiential education based at

least in part on their (self-defined) interests (Mayer, 1966; Meyer, 1972).

Real-life problem solving as a method of facilitating education appears to have been introduced by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), who based his system of education on students' observations, guided by questions from a teacher. Like Basedow, Pestalozzi was inspired by Rousseau but managed to move beyond Rousseau's pedagogy (Meyer, 1972). Pestalozzi developed experiential and experimental classroom activities and was the first teacher to advocate field trips (which he did especially for the study of Geography) (Mayer, 1966). The first Pennsylvania State Department of Education monograph on field trips (in 1927) mentioned Pestalozzi as the originator of the idea; field trips would not enter the mainstream of American public education until well into the twentieth century (Olsen, 1954).

Adult Education

Alongside the college- or academy-oriented educational philosophers stood those who advocated a "utilitarian democratic-vocational" education for the common working class (Elias & Merriam, 1980, p. 18). Advocates included Benjamin Franklin, who founded the Junto (a self-educating philosophical study group) and who also advocated some education for women. Franklin concentrated on citizenship issues such as liberty, government,and patriotism and was a

moving force in the foundation of subscription libraries (Elias & Merriam, 1980; Stubblefield, 1981).

In the late eighteenth century historical societies began collecting material of local generation and interest. Some museums, previously sponsored by private universities, became institutionalized as public resources in the early nineteenth century (Knowles, 1962, p. 20).

In 1810, Providence, Rhode Island opened the first recorded adult evening school. Almost thirty years later Cincinnati followed suit (Hickey & Van Voorhees, 1969).

Josiah Holbroek founded the Lyceum movement in 1826. This was a socially broad movement dedicated to the general improvement of local communities through lectures, discussions and demonstrations featuring well-known people of the day. Themes of the movement included improved family and community relations, advocacy of public schooling, and the stimulation of community awareness through local research. By 1835, about the peak of the movement, there were about three thousand active town-level lyceums. This does not include the county and state lyceums, which were of course fewer and were also not nearly as popular (Stubblefield, 1981; Knowles, 1962; Elias & Merriam, 1980).

Lyceums were cast in a mold suited to the time, but managed to include the most basic egalitarian, responsible principles of today's community education: "All declare, by joining a lyceum, that they wish to extend their knowledge; and from the manner in which they associate each may become,

by turns, a learner and a teacher..." (Barnard, 1838, p. 40).

In 1831 there was an attempt among some Lyceum advocates to build a national organization out of the components of towns, counties and states, but the proposed hierarchical, centralized system was never implemented. By 1840 the movement was operating on the local level only. The lyceum movement continued to exist until about the time of the Civil War, finding its greatest support in New England (Knowles, 1962).

The Chatauqua movement began after the Civil War and continued in at least one form until today. This was a Christian-inspired adult education movement which included correspondence courses; it reached its peak just before the first World War (Elias & Merriam, 1980; Loughran & Reed, 1980).

Also of significance around this time were the agricultural societies. These grassroots organizations started to appear before the American Revolution, sponsoring not only fairs and contests but also printed materials designed to promote agricultural production. There were almost one thousand such societies in 1860; shortly thereafter they began to be replaced by more external authority-oriented "farmer's institutes," a concept developed in 1839 in Massachusetts as state-sponsored agricultural development agencies (Knowles, 1962).

University education for community development began during the Civil War period with the passage of the Land Grant Act of 1862 (sometimes called the Morrill Act after its sponsor, Senator Morrill of Vermont). This Act gave federal land, or federal money for the purchase of land, to states for the joint purposes of raising money and founding colleges dedicated to both a practical mechanical, agricultural and home-economics vocational training and an education in traditional subjects of higher education (Geiger, 1979). In 1887 the Hatch Act provided funds for agricultural experiment stations for land-grant universities, forming, together with the Smith Lever Act of 1914, the basis for public adult agricultural education (Decker, 1972).

The Smith-Lever Act contained some surprisingly progressive community development recommendations:

> [Some purposes of the Act are] to aid in the diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to Agriculture, uses of solar energy with respect to agriculture, home economics and rural energy and encourage the application of the same...(cited in VandeBerg, 1983, p. 3).

This Act established the Cooperative Extension service and required the presence of "at least one trained teacher for each county [who] should provide leadership in every area of the county's social, economic and financial life" (Stubblefield, 1981, p. 5). This clearly incorporates a very broad range of community issues; the intent was to create a comprehensive rural development service. The Act

does mandate an external authority, but was at least created democratically and includes the idea of local democratic economic action.

Another community development educational system can be found in the settlement houses, created in response to massive immigration and poor living conditions. These "were organized for research and the extension of the bounds of knowledge. Settlements tested the validity of knowledge and the human and social conditions within which it might best be used" (Stubblefield, 1981, pp. 3-4; Addams, 1910).

Progressivism

One of the major branches of thought in community education (one with an internal authority, gestalt focus) has its roots in progressive education. The narrowest or simplest concept of progressive education is one in which one views schools as a "simplified environment" which is progressively developed so that it finally approaches the outside world in its complexity and subject matter (Dewey, 1916, p. 24). The more general social progressivism, on a larger scale, includes the development or refinement (progression) of elements of society, passing the good on and discarding that which is no longer useful (ibid., p. 26). Comenius, Pestalozzi and Rousseau can be considered progressive in the latter sense; they broke from the rigid, traditional-authority style of education and stressed the

individual's capacity and experience as the basis for education (Elias & Merriam 1980).

John Dewey has been by far the most influential of the progressive educators. He was an immensely prolific writer; his writings contain a great deal of the ideas used by community educators. Dewey was, for instance, closely associated with Elsie Clapp (see below), whom he mentions in the preface to Democracy in Education (1916), and for whose book Community Schools in Action (1939) he wrote a forward. In that forward he states: "If I have said the book is a record of a highly significant undertaking in the field of community education, it would sound as if schools had in addition some other field of operations. In fact they do not have" (Clapp, 1939, p. vii).

Dewey was concerned with the individual as part of a social environment and saw education as a means to help society progress by passing on to successive generations only the best of previous ones. Furthermore, he saw the social environment itself as educative and the democratic ideal a "a criterion for educational criticism and construction" (cited in Elias & Merriam, 1980, pp. 26, 115).

Dewey's concept of interest, that "one is identified with the objects which define the activity and which furnish the means...[for] its realization" (ibid., p. 161), sets the stage for a real-world, problem-solving approach. He links interested activity with the social world: "The subject matter of education consists primarily of the meanings which

supply content to existing social life" (ibid., p. 226). Also: "Schools function socially only when they function in a community for community purposes, and communities are local, present and close by, while 'society' at large is something vaguely in the distance" (Clapp, 1939, p. viii).

Elsie Ripley Clapp: An early model

Elsie Ripley Clapp took these ideas to heart, producing two of the first and best examples of community education in the country. She went to work in a rural school in Kentucky in 1929 already influenced by Dewey and near the height of the progressive education movement:

> The work which here described is itself a tribute to John Dewey, whose philosophy and whose vision of the school as a social institution prompted our efforts to create a community school and to participate in community education (Clapp, 1939, p. v).

Clapp also acknowledges here the contribution of Eleanor Roosevelt, who lent her support to the Arthurdale project (see below).

Clapp's first project was as principal of the Roger Clark Ballard Memorial School in Jefferson County, Kentucky. She had been hired by a parents' committee of that school which had travelled north to search for a principal; she was known as a progressive teacher. She had intended to employ local teachers (who lacked progressive backgrounds) as well as progressive teachers, but the local teachers declined to

participate in the experiment. The entire staff was in the end chosen personally by Clapp.

The teachers quickly impressed the local people with their willingness and their ability to work in general and not just pedagogically. From the beginning attempts were made to integrate school life with life in the community and children's school work with the work of the school, which included extensive repair.

Aside from instructing children in cultural background and reading, writing, and arithmetic, there was also community service performed in health and nutrition, the sponsoring of a county fair, the initiation of a cooperative market for women and a "labor bureau" for men, and various recreational programs. After a few years, other programs developed, including a music festival, a program in economic geography, and a weekly community newspaper. These programs were ad hoc; they arose in response to specific community needs. There was an underlying premise that one of the most basic community needs was the education of children; this was naturally extended to provide opportunities for learning, and further, for the improvement of life.

This first school was formed from scratch, beginning as a progressive children's school and evolving from that, through the principles of progressivism, into a self-described "community school" (Clapp, 1939, p. 66). From Jefferson County, Clapp moved to Arthurdale, West Virginia

as part of a highly self-aware experiment in community education.

Arthurdale was a federal housing project, providing homes for workers, or former workers, of the impoverished mining community of Scott's Run, a community devastated by the Depression. Clapp was asked for suggestions based on the work she was doing in Jefferson County. There was already work going on described by Clapp as community education: Relief workers from the American Friends Service Committee were set up in the Monongehela Valley, funded by President Hoover out of a surplus from war relief efforts. Clapp notes: "The basis of community education is typically laid out by other than school agencies" (1939, p. 70).

Clapp's "Plan for the School at Arthurdale Drafted by the West Virginia Advisory School Committee" serves as a manifesto for community education, stressing lifelong learning, the acknowledgment of the fundamental importance of trusting and encouraging people's own "initiative and resourcefulness; diversity and individual talent; and a curriculum based on the special needs of the community." There were to be three levels of education: Pre-school, grade school, and adult education. The curriculum would be based on community activities, using "lifelike problems." The community was expected to take part in the physical construction of the facilities, in order both to reduce costs and to promote real investment by the community in the project (Clapp, 1939, pp. 72-75).

There were both basic curriculum subjects offered to children and health and recreation programs for all ages. Innovations included a farming cooperative and men's and women's social and civic clubs. The men's club was responsible for the establishment of a fire brigade, among other work, and the women's club provided a forum for the sharing of information and an occasional working project.

Clapp stressed repeatedly the ad hoc nature of community education and the idea of education as an ongoing process, concerned with the life and growth of whole communities. Her work in Jefferson County and Arthurdale expresses clearly the progressivist concept of community education, including within its scope the whole of a community's concerns and holding a faith in the ability of a community to rise above its needs and create solutions to its problems.

One other, very important progressive writer must be noted here (see also Chapter Three). Eduard Lindeman, a theorist in social philosophy at the New School of Social research, wrote of progressive adult education in revolutionary terms:

> Adult Education turns out to be the most reliable instrument for social actionists...Every social action group should at the same time be an adult education group, and I go even so far as to believe that all successful adult education groups sooner or later become social action groups (Lindeman, cited in Elias & Merriam, 1980, p. 66).

Lindeman was greatly influenced by the Danish Folk Schools (as was Miles Horton of the Highlander Research and

Education Center) which he visited in 1920 and in which he saw the possibility of a really egalitarian society, claiming to have found a land in which there was "neither wealth nor poverty" (Lindeman, 1926, p. xvii).

Frank Manley and Flint, Michigan

Adult education in public schools in Michigan started in 1862 when H. A. Hobart conducted general classes after regular school hours in the Village of Cliff Mine. In 1872 and 1875, Grand Rapids and Detroit, respectively,began adult evening classes, in large part to teach foreign-born residents English. The beginnings of similar programs include Battle Creek, 1886; Calumet, 1895; Kalamazoo, 1900; Jackson, 1911; Houghton-Hancock, 1913. In 1914, Frank Cody, head of the adult education program in Detroit, registered nine thousand seven hundred adults for courses, over half of whom were foreigners in "Americanization" classes (Columbus, pp. 1-20; 27).

Flint, Michigan also had a program of adult evening classes, also at first for non-English speakers wanting to learn the language, beginning in 1913. The number of course offerings grew quickly; in the school year 1924-25 there were eighty-one courses offered and seven schools participating (ibid.).

Columbus (p. 31) tells us (somewhat ambiguously) that "community education officially began in 1935 in Flint" when Charles Stewart Mott donated six thousand dollars to the

city for after-school and Saturday activities for children. Whether this means that community education in Flint began in 1935 or that he is claiming that community education itself began at that time in Flint is unclear.

While this second position is clearly uninformed by the work of Dewey and Clapp, it has support from several sources. Totten and Manley dedicate their book The Community School: Basic Concepts, Function and Organization (1969) in this way: This book is respectfully and appreciatively dedicated to/CHARLES STEWART MOTT/founder of the Mott Foundation, whose inspiration and generosity made the Community School Concept possible." Hiemstra (1972, p. 34) also tells us that "the community school movement had its beginning in Flint, Michigan."

This discontinuity points to a separate and distinct tradition of community education, one which focuses on the school and indeed the concept of schooling, as opposed to education, as the site of learning, one which is interested not in empowerment but in socialization, and one which does not reflect the concerns of the progressive movement except for the concept of equal opportunity.

Columbus (1978, p. 31) gives us further background:

> It was...in 1934 that C. S. Mott had heard Manley's ideas on education expressed in a speech he gave at a meeting of the Rotarians in Flint. It was there that Frank Manley talked about the inadequacy of receptiveness of the present educational system to the pressing needs of society in general and to the needs of the community in particular.

And what are these "pressing needs of society in general?" Manley and Totten have strict ideas, culturally narrow and conservative:

> It is our belief that the good society is one that will develop when all the concepts of the Judeo-Christian ethic and of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution are fulfilled. It is our position that these concepts...of these three (sic!) documents are not debatable (Totten & Manley, 1969, p. xxiii).

Totten and Manley are prescriptive even beyond that; a chapter sub-heading is entitled "Values the American People Want to Realize through Education," which includes "a belief in the use of reason as the most effective way to solve problems" (ibid., pp. xviii, xx). This may reflect the values of the dominant culture, but this policy is clearly not oriented toward a socially diverse community, or one which values the affective as well as the cognitive realm.

Further evidence of a prescriptive, authoritarian tone of this "community school" branch of the community education movement can be found in the following: "We need to find an approach to education that will <u>provide</u> the knowledge, understanding, and skills which will enable people to cope with their problems (ibid., p. xvii, emphasis added). "Universal application of community education is an appropriate avenue for the fulfillment of [Judeo-Christian and Constitutional] principles and concepts" (Totten, 1970, p. xv). Why <u>provide</u> knowledge, understanding and skills when they could be elicited and developed? Authoritarian provision of solutions may be the greatest problem in a

representative democracy: If the authorities are right, they maintain power; if they are wrong, everyone loses. And how does one apply community education: Is it a glue to which will stick the values of the American civil religion? Why should institutions instead of people exert power?

The Mott Foundation includes in its purposes the production of responsible citizens in a democratic community dedicated to free enterprise. The idea of democracy and free enterprise as complementary and worthy ends rather than as potentially conflicting means seems to have been ingrained in the community school movement. The radical critique of schooling in general as a means to further the authoritarian status quo (Illich, 1972) or the industrial-capitalist economy (Toffler, 1980; Bowles & Gintes, 1976) is just as applicable to the Flint "Community School Concept" as it is to regular schooling.

Discussion

There is a clear difference between Clapp, who includes schools in community education, and Manley, who includes the community in his schooling. The significance of this difference is not to be underestimated. If a community already has schools which are not community oriented (the normal case; impossible in the progressive paradigm) and a kind of community schooling is tailored to fit the demands of these schools, the community can only end up with a community school which serves the interests of Illich's

"schooled society" and its basic authoritarian principles. This is opposed to community education, which must remain free to develop according to the evolution of the wishes of the community.

This difference can also be seen in the distinction between a "community school director" and a "community education facilitator" (Kaplan & Warden, 1978). Seay & Associates (1974, p. 5) take a middle position, but on the progressive side: "...the word 'education' is not synonymous with 'schooling' but refers to a lifetime process of which schooling is one part."

Community <u>schooling</u> is therefore inflexible by definition as well as conservative. This is a basic difference (though progressivism also seeks to conserve the best of previous experience).

Both orientations survive today, the progressive camp generally represented by radicals such as Illich (1970) and Friere (1985). The community <u>school</u> movement, on the other hand, seems to have influenced the form of community education somewhat, with its emphasis on the efficient use of school facilities. The progressive attitude would include all public facilities; as many communities have schools, this is a logical choice, but negative association from schooling may also be involved. The influence of progressive proponents of community education may be recognized by the degree to which education both <u>by</u> and <u>for</u> the community transcends school boundaries and is oriented

toward discovering and facilitating the wishes of the community rather than imposing some previously decided upon curriculum.

There is some mixture of the terms "education" and "schooling." Some community education and community school theorists propose an educational evolution from the traditional, academic school through the progressive school to the community school (Olsen & Clark, 1977; Decker, 1972).

Everett's The Community School (1938) focuses on the relationship between a given school and its community, much as Clapp did. The progressive perspective, when present, is quite evident. The introduction by William Kirkpatrick (Everett, 1938, pp. 1-22) is a Deweyan exposition of the progressive community education philosophy, pointing toward "socially significant education." Community learning is described as beginning in infancy in the family and being intimately related to the development of self-awareness.

Kirkpatrick also explores the nature of culture, questioning the growing imbalance between the rapid growth of technology versus the lack of solutions to problems it creates, such as unemployment: "The material aspects of the culture have rushed ahead, while the spiritual aspects have tended to remain the same. "Social education" is Kirkpatrick's solution, involving the building of "a more adequate social intelligence (ibid., pp. 8, 10).

He writes (pp.10-11):

We must then get all the people working at the problems of cultural imbalance. A new system of adult education to take in the whole population must be worked out. At the same time our higher institutions of learning must accept a new sense of social responsibility to attack with the most refined instruments of research all phases of the social problem. Actual though advances should here result, while in comparison, adult education is more likely to spread ideas. And the lower grade schools must likewise accept a new responsibility to make all of the young people more adequately conscious of our culture and its problems. The building of social intelligence must be begun early in the life of our young people.

Let it be stressed that this scheme of social education is not a matter of propaganda and indoctrination. Democracy demands that each citizen give his own intelligent assent to whatever policy he approves. It is education then that we seek, not propaganda and indoctrination, education that each one may become more intelligently self-directing. And if it is to be education it must deal with actual problems, for we do not learn how to deal with live, unsolved problems by spending our time and energies on dead problems.

This discussion is not meant to detract from certain progressive concepts contained within some of the writing from the community school movement, such as the desirability of relevant education; problem-solving by the people; establishing community self-confidence; the integration of all educative functions in a community; and the elimination of bigotry, prejudice, intolerance and indifference (Columbus, 1978).

These goals can hardly be realized, however, in a setting which discourages non-Judeo-Christian values and does not recognize political debate which evolved after the writing of the Constitution, such as the debates surrounding

the personal ownership of land and economic democracy. It is these questions which are at the core of development problems today, not only in this country but globally, and the community school movement seems in its rigidity and narrowness of valuation to deny people in practice the very freedom they seek to promote in theory.

CHAPTER II

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

Participation or involvement in the decisions which affect one is the essence of democracy. In the bureaucratic world which characterizes much of environmental planning, however, decisions are made which affect great numbers of citizens, without those citizens being aware either of the issues or of the structure of the decision-making process.

For the specific case of citizen participation in planning in New England towns with a Town Meeting form of government, please refer to Chapter Five, which introduces the towns involved in this study. Following is a general treatment of the topic.

There have been a number of approaches to resolving the contradictions involved in such less-than-purely-democratic processes, going by various names: Citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969); citizen involvement (Dale, 1978); public participation (Buskirk & Auker, ca. 1980); and public involvement (Creighton, 1981). A broad literature covers both the theory and the practice of the topic, both in general and applied to various specific situations such as water resources planning or energy facility siting. Also, this chapter focuses on citizen participation in planning as it has evolved in the First World; the extensive literature

for the Third World is related but, because of the different evolutionary context, not as relevant.

Creighton, who has been called "the dean of public participation" (Mach, 1986), takes the position that all of the above terms stand for "including...the public in the important decisions of government or corporate entities", going so far as to call distinguishing between the terms "quibbling" (1981, p. vii). This position masks substantive distinctions in ideological orientation, however. In taking his position, Creighton is tacitly promoting the representative, republican concept of democracy, leaving other perspectives unacknowledged. Throughout the Public Involvement Manual, Creighton places the locus of decision-making apart from the citizen, in a government agency, a private corporation, or the like. He notes that the term "citizen participation" was preferred when the movement was beginning, especially in the early 1970s.

The term "citizen participation" generally refers more to a system of decision-making (government) "by, for, and of the people" than simply to the review and commentary on decisions within the reach, but nevertheless outside of the grasp, of citizens.

"Citizen participation" connotes a process designed to influence decision-making in the direction of direct democracy (Arnstein, 1969). To the extent that an institution includes those affected by its decisions in the definition of a problem, the formulation of an approach (or

approaches) to a solution, and the process of coming to a decision, that institution is democratic and the whole process may further enhance citizen participation as citizens see directly the fruits of their activity.

On the other hand, to the extent that a problem is defined without citizen participation (thereby affecting the rest of the process through to a decision), the entire process may be seen as merely an attempt on the part of an institution to legitimize its predetermined set of options. This latter formulation is pursued by Verba (cited in Richardson, 1983, p. 25), who terms it "ceremonial, support, or pseudo-participation," defined as "participation... limited to member endorsement of decisions made by the leader....(referring not to a technique of decision but to a technique of persuasion"). While Patton (1983) advocates the latter view, stating that even citizen input into the planning process is to be treated only as a necessary inconvenience, Levine (1987-8, pp. 76, 84) argues strongly for the former: "Citizen input is insufficient to ensure citizen participation;" input may be ignored whereas empowerment demands action.

In discussing the "rationale for public participation," Creighton (1981, p. 5) implies that an accession to some level of direct democracy was, in the late 1960s, necessary if the public sentiment expressed in the riots of that time were not to lead to a collapse of government institutions in general. This assessment might not have been far off. Yet

the implication of a "concession" to democracy (by the bureaucracy), what may be called a "weak" approach to citizen participation, is still evident. So, as Creighton prefers the term "public involvement," this writer prefers the term "citizen participation," with its connotations of democratic citizen control (see Arnstein, 1969, below).

Citizen participation is an issue in every branch of public policy, and more recently has been a major factor in private enterprise, for example through the workplace democracy and worker ownership movements. A literature search turned up a wide range of books on the political and sociological science of citizen involvement as a major structural component to democracy. One exceptionally complete source, Citizen Participation in the American Federal System (1980, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations [ACIR]), provides chapters on history, theory, and specific processes on the federal, state and local levels.

Following is a general review of literature concerned with citizen participation for environmental planning, including an outline of the issues prevalent in each of several sub-topics.

History

The foundation for modern citizen participation lies in John Locke's conception of the validity of government being found in the consent of the governed (Salisbury, 1980;

Creighton, 1981). As a government's validity is determined by this factor, so are the government's actions "shaped and constrained" by consent (Salisbury, 1980, p. 100).

Other early thinkers who were concerned specifically with the rights and duties of citizens in a democracy include Thomas Jefferson in America and the Europeans Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill. An adequate treatment of the contributions of these individuals to theories of citizen participation would be a work in itself, but it may at least be stated that their ideas anticipate in some form most, if not all, of the current debate (ACIR, 1980).

Richardson (1983) notes that while the concept of participation in general has been studied ever since the concept of democracy was born in Greece, the current public demand for participation arose quite recently, during the latter 1960s, affirming Creighton's perception of a sea-change in government-citizen relations during that era. She notes two theories on the current phenomenon's genesis, first, a change in the public's unwillingness "to accept decisions made by others on their behalf" (p. 4), and second, a change in the nature and delivery of government services resulting in the alienation of the public, for which participation represents a remedy. The increased organization of service consumers (the major topic of her book) is also listed as an ingredient in the current movement.

Dale (1978, p. 3) finds one wellspring of the citizen participation movement in a historically classic document: "The Declaration of Independence asserted for all citizens the right to determine whether a government is fulfilling its intended purposes and also, if a government becomes destructive of its intended ends, 'the right to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government.'"

Fagance (1977) also places citizen participation firmly in the democratic tradition, tracing the development of democracy from its beginnings in Athenian culture through a long somnolescence through to the Enlightenment of the seventeenth century. Modern ideas of a "participant political culture" (p. 25) spring from the steady development of democratic ideas over the past two centuries.

Checkoway (1984) traces the current growth in citizen participation, and the mechanisms for it, to the "organized actions and protests of minorities" of the 1960s and the actions and philosophy it created (p. 102). He includes as direct descendants of that movement the civil rights movement, consumer groups, neighborhood groups, and other citizens' groups.

From these historical roots, many approaches to participation have evolved. Below is a review of several approaches; some are broad, encompassing various kinds of participation, some are narrower, focusing on just one kind.

The fact that there is such a variety of meanings and methods for participation affirms the general recognition

that the field is in its infancy. I have tried to identify the key issues in the debate, and to provide a summary of different approaches, together with comments on the structures presented and the evolving streams of thought in the field.

Theory, Goals, and Structure

General Theories: Strong and Weak

Kweit & Kweit (1981) write that the United States is in a "participation crisis," by which they mean that existing institutions are unable to cope with demands placed on them by a nation expanding in terms of active citizens. They mention two previous periods in the history of the United States when similar conditions existed and were met with increased access to participation in government; the time of the administration of Andrew Jackson, when the western United States was expanding most rapidly, and, mirroring the revolution in education (see Chapter One), the Progressive era beginning at the end of the nineteenth century.

During the first participation crisis, restrictions on who could vote and who could hold elective offices were liberalized; citizen access to the bureaucracy was also increased. The second crisis resulted in the formation of the civil service; previously, public employment had been on the basis of party affiliation. Other reforms regarding party structures and election process were also made at this

time, including the adoption of procedures for legally binding initiatives and referenda (Kweit & Kweit, 1981).

The question now is not so much whether to grant access, but at what level. The current crisis, precipitated largely by the civil rights movement, has resulted in not just increased access, but the broad development of policies of mandated access. This may be considered beneficial in two respects; first, the mandate provides some assurance that an agency cannot be justly accused, after the fact, of having made decisions behind closed doors (signalling a potential conflict of interest). Second, there was a feeling that citizens could improve their own positions by engaging in some level of policy-making (cf. Fagence's "principle of citizen self-improvement," 1977, p. 30). This may be seen in an especially radical form in the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964, which included a requirement for "maximum feasible participation" in policy formulation (a term coined by Daniel Moynihan; Sewell & Coppock (1977), p. 5); the Office of Economic Opportunity (created by the EOA) went so far as to encourage confrontational tactics by community action agencies (Kweit & Kweit, 1981).

There are two basic perspectives expressed in the literature, "citizen participation" representing a "strong" approach to democracy in decision-making, implying citizen power in decision-making, and "public participation" or "public involvement" representing a "weak" approach, implying bureaucratic control of decision-making. The

"strong" approach is most evident in Arnstein's (1969) work; Creighton (1981) exemplifies the "weak" approach (see below for a fuller discussion of both perspectives).

The distinction between the two can be seen as part of a broader debate. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), a bi-partisan group with members drawn from the private sector, the U.S Senate and House, the Executive Branch, governors, mayors, state legislators, and elected county officials, puts it this way in the introduction to its report "The Organization of Local Public Economies":

> While drawing upon a venerable tradition of thought that extends back through several centuries of American experience with local government, this report challenges more recent conventions of thought that have been intellectually, if not politically, dominant throughout much of this century. For decades, many local government analysts have warned citizens of the dire consequences of "fragmentation" and of the "proliferation" of local governments, especially in metropolitan areas. Citizens have been urged to consolidate their local governments and to simplify local institutional arrangements. At times, state legislatures and even the federal government have been urged to effect metropolitan reorganization on behalf of local citizens. With this report, the ACIR comes down on the side of local citizen choice and of variety in local government organization (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1987, p. iii).

The current debate regarding participation generally focuses on methods by which direct participation can be developed or enhanced. In this sense, direct participation can be seen as congruent with the "strong" approach, though it does not necessarily involve direct control.

Briassoulis (1989), in a theoretical paper outlining various modes of planning, identifies the "participatory/consensual" mode of environmental problem-solving as just one of six "pure types" of planning approaches (none of which exist alone in practice), the others being the comprehensive/ rational, incremental, adaptive, contingency, and advocacy types of planning. She regards mediation and negotiation regarding environmental problems and plans as examples of participatory planning (cf. Barton, 1980 on conflict resolution) and states five goals of participatory planning: Broadening the basis of environmental planning, reconciling opposing interests, managing uncertainty, educating the public, and producing implementable decisions.

According to Briassoulis (1989, p. 389), "without participation, no step in the planning process can be executed successfully and effectively," a process which includes "defining and bounding problems, choosing methods of analysis, discussing alternatives, and resolving differences of opinion." For Briassoulis, then, citizen participation (including public education) is a pre-requisite for any valid planning. Briassoulis thus tends toward the "strong" approach in defining citizen participation, but implies equal power between citizens and planners.

Richardson (1983) distinguishes between "direct" and "indirect" participation, the former being face-to-face

interaction with official decision-makers or their spokesmen, the latter involving participation in efforts to influence policy without direct contact with officials, including voting and membership in pressure groups.

Writing from a distinctly "strong" perspective, Duane Dale and the staff of the Citizen Involvement Training Project (CITP) have created a manual for citizen involvement which covers the history, theory, goals, and practice of citizen participation (Dale, 1978). Greg Speeter, also of CITP, (though now of the National Priorities Project), wrote a complementary manual of specific strategies for groups wishing to obtain political power (Speeter, 1978).

Dale sees a continuing debate between two conceptions of government, quoting Thomas Jefferson as identifying those who "fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes," as being opposed to "those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, and cherish and consider them as the most honest and sane..." (Jefferson, cited in Dale, 1978, p. 3).

Dale (1978, p. 4) also gives two complementary versions of the theory of citizen participation. The first appears to be the history of governmental institutions, the second appears to be the history of the groundswell of various popular movements. (In keeping with the format of the book, which encourages participation, individuals are requested to

answer a set of questions to stimulate their own thoughts regarding these issues):

> Version 1: The essence of citizen involvement is democratic self-governance. Therefore, the history of citizen involvement is the history of the evolution of democratic institutions. It's a history of slow but steady progress toward full equality and orderly democratic governance.
>
> Version 2: The history of citizen involvement is the history of people's persistent efforts to be heard. Forms of government have changed through the ages, but the poor and the disadvantaged are always with us and the wealthy and advantaged always do their best to ignore them.

Society and Power

It must be stressed that environmental planning is not immune to social questions such as these, especially when the technical aspects of planning go beyond the education of the average citizen (see Chapter Three). Also, questions of development and conservation always imply social questions, whether through the patterns of power behind the process of the allocation of land, which is a limited resource, or the question of the solution of natural resource problems at the potential expense of society. Ahern (1989) makes it clear that a sustainable development process will include considerations of social concerns in environmental planning as part of a holistic approach, and further, that the processes of development can be used to benefit all parts of the whole. The question then becomes one of the relative

proportions of weight given to various concerns (such as ecological landscape function and human land use); for an answer to be workable in a real setting, there must be participation in decision-making by as many people as possible who would be affected by any change.

Making decisions implies power. Zillessen (1980, p. 31) states: "An improvement in participational opportunities in the environmental field must begin with granting the individual concrete opportunities to influence decisions." The exercise of power is at the heart of citizen participation. As there is potential conflict between direct democracy and technical proficiency in planning, which can be approached through citizen education, so there is potential conflict between direct democracy and bureaucratic power.

Debnam (1979) gives an excellent treatment of issues of power, albeit from the perspective of a citizen of a Commonwealth nation (New Zealand). He cautions that "politico-administrative procedures [such as programs for participation] are not sufficient to counter influences generated by the institutional structure of society at large" (p. 36) and states that "the most important justification for improving the role of the private citizen in public planning is that it will lead to a more democratic distribution of power in society" (p. 35). Increased participation has the potential advantage of "making the political environment more predictable to the extent that it

exposes social conflict that might otherwise erupt without warning" (p. 36).

On the same topic, Richardson (1983, pp. 23, 26) writes:

> The introduction of a new set of people into most situations is not a simple matter. It upsets the balance of relationships which had existed before their arrival and calls for new arrangements to be devised, whether formal or informal, for accommodating the new participants....People have power when they...can determine outcomes, ensuring that they get, as a group, what they jointly want. But...this power can be neither legislated nor ensured; it is the outcome of a complex process of negotiation between different individuals or groups.

Richardson (1983) notes that participation in the decision-making process may involve any of a number of steps, including defining the task or problem, establishing priorities or goals, collecting data, processing the data, and finally, making the decision. Note that this does not necessarily include participation in actually making the decision, but it may.

Fagence (1977) provides a broad background discussion of democracy and participation, noting that planners have often not given due consideration to the complexities of democratic theory in their search for appropriate measures to ensure participation. (He also chastises political scientists for their ignorance of planning issues.) According to Fagence, there are three major ideologies involved in the modern debate; the participationist, the elitist, and the marxist, the latter of which may be

distinguished principally by its emphasis on the development of enlightened self-interest and social revolution.

Fagence (1977, pp. 6-8) reports that there is a lack of consensus between political science and other social sciences regarding the definition of power (as well as of participation). The general assumption is that power (in terms of decision-making) is distributed unequally in society and that participation is a means to redress that imbalance. How effective this may be is a matter of considerable debate; the major issue is structural, i.e., participation in a system which includes a non-democratic distribution of power as a precondition for its existence will not be radically altered through any degree of participation, as the result can only be co-optation.

Hester (1989) outlines a view of participatory community design which incorporates the empowerment of disadvantaged citizens as a necessary part of the design process. He cites a survey in which 48% of the respondents (chosen through identification by organizations and projects) listed "helping people attain more control over their lives...and gain more control in their home, work, and recreation environments" as a primary goal. Community design encourages local control through local organizations and insists on as much community participation in the design process as is necessary to enhance the community's sense of itself and its environment.

Arnstein's Ladder

One of the most comprehensive theories of citizen participation in planning was published in the Journal of the American Planning Association in July, 1969. Sherry R. Arnstein, in an article entitled "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," challenged politicians and planners alike not only to accept public comment on public projects, but also to democratize decision-making, accepting and respecting citizen control of planning decisions.

Arnstein (1969), from a general planning perspective inclusive of environmental planning, defines citizen participation in the broadest possible terms as a "categorical term for citizen power." She holds "as a fundamental point that participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless" (p. 216). Though Arnstein does not provide a definition of "citizenship," a definition inclusive of those affected by the decisions of purportedly representative bureaucracies, as well as residents within some politically-defined area, may be inferred from her model.

Arnstein proposes that citizen participation may be seen as being on one of three levels, each of which is subdivided into "rungs" on a "ladder," using her metaphor. She cautions the reader that these general, theoretical categories do not convey the complexities of practice, suggesting the possibility of as many as 150 sub-divisions. The ladder is seen not as stages through which citizen

participation occurs, but as degrees of possible participation.

It is further evident that this paradigm was constructed primarily for cities, states, and the federal levels of government, where "professional" politicians and appointed officials (including paid management) are responsible for the vast majority of policy decisions, rather than small towns where citizens often supply the bulk of the (voluntary) labor for running town government. Even so, any representative structure will encounter the tensions between the "official" policy-makers, paid or not, and "lay" citizens.

The lowest level is termed "nonparticipation;" there are two rungs on that level, "manipulation" and "therapy." These are used as a coercive strategy by those who are responsible for allowing participation but who are unwilling to do so. Which of these goes on the bottom is an arbitrary judgement: Manipulation "signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by powerholders" while therapy "is both dishonest and arrogant," "assum[ing] that powerlessness is synonymous with mental illness" or that the lack of sophistication of the powerless is stupidity (p. 218).

The second level of the ladder, "degrees of tokenism," has three rungs; "informing," "consultation," and "placation." These appear to be the levels of allowance of participation most commonly employed; they are, sadly, the

maximum levels of participation considered by Creighton (1981) and Lucy (1988). Informing is simply an open-door policy for public meetings, perhaps with a certain amount of publicity employed as a means of informing the public of the opportunity to hear policy from the policy-making officials. Consultation allows the public to respond, though, as Arnstein points out, it by no means guarantees that the officials will respond in turn. Placation allows the public response to be codified into an official advisory body but still leaves the decisions in the hands of the officials.

The third, highest level of the ladder represents "degrees of citizen power." The rungs are "partnership," "delegated power," and, at the top, "citizen control." Partnership includes real negotiation and mediation (though often there is a severe imbalance of power), delegated power takes place when citizens have reached "a clear majority of seats (on policy boards or agencies)," and citizen control is a theoretical level, perhaps never quite achieved, but strived for nonetheless as neighborhoods and communities seek local control of, for example, local schools.

Regarding these "degrees of citizen power," it must once again be stated that Arnstein recognized the complexity of real-world decision-making. Citizen volunteers may provide services to towns, for example through (appointed) membership on local planning boards, but this is no guarantee that the board will be either more or less accessible to the general, un-appointed citizen.

In many towns in Massachusetts, for example, the Board of Selectmen appoints the Planning Board; the only citizen control of the Planning Board is through the election of the Board of Selectmen. In a town such as Amherst, public sentiment is agreeable to planning; in other towns, professional developers might be appointed to the Planning Board for, say, their knowledge of zoning law. This might seem a conflict of interest to citizens, but their only recourse might be through the Board of Selectmen.

A more democratic approach, corresponding to Arnstein's "citizen control," would involve the election of Planning Board members. Though citizens might elect members without the same qualifications as the Board of Selectmen might look for, this would not, in itself, necessarily provide better or worse planning. It would, however, provide the town with the kind of planning it wanted.

Fagence (1977, p. 273) criticizes Arnstein for not identifying which modes of participation are appropriate in what contexts; to this writer, Arnstein clearly implies that until "have-nots" <u>have</u>, that is, until the disempowered have citizen control (her definition of citizen participation), the appropriate means of participation are those means which provide whatever the next progressive step is in the transition to citizen control. Arnstein herself describes her framework as intentionally provocative (1969, p. 216), and is intentionally radical.

Elements, Goals and Techniques of Participation

Writers have approached citizen participation from a number of very different perspectives, either by treating various aspects as frameworks for discussion, that is, attempting to provide a comprehensive description or analysis, or by exploring one idea in various ways. There appears to be no overall, accepted framework; writers tend to cite either Creighton (1981) or Arnstein (1969), depending on their ideological orientation. Following, then, are the major points in the works this writer was able to discover.

Warner (cited in Stiftel, p. 61) lists three categories of participation. The first is informational/educational, where planners talk to the public, the second is review/reaction, where planners accept feedback from the public, and the third is interaction/dialogue, where there is a "two-way flow of communication." This begins to reflect Arnstein's framework, but the idea of citizen control is not developed. Presumably, effective communication begets influence, so "degrees of citizen control" may be reached, but there is no guarantee in Warner's framework that planners will do anything about the information they receive from the public.

Creighton (1981), in a structural analysis, introduces the distinction between horizontally- and vertically-oriented groups, a system based on the social orientation of democratic involvement. In vertically-oriented groups, the

local member finds that his or her interests have more in common with others in other communities; in horizontally-oriented groups, one identifies oneself with a geographically small but whole (in the sense of pandimensional) community. This framework recognizes that different constituencies for participation will occur on different levels, both in terms of types of issues and in terms of bureaucratic levels.

Creighton lists Chambers of Commerce and agricultural groups as having mostly horizontal orientations, and taxpayer and minority organizations as having vertical orientations, presumably on the basis of experience.

He states, however, that environmental groups tend to be vertically linked, with their memberships oriented toward a national level of interest, presuming that the members have more in common with others in different communities. In this he fails to address the positive potential for the synthesis of these two perspectives into a whole-systems approach for environmental thought and action, as in, for instance, the popular phrase "think globally, act locally."

Thompson (1970, cited in Fagence) identifies citizenship as the key element in democracy, which can be of three forms or perspectives, the scientific, the religious, and the humanist. Four aspects, or activities, of citizenship are considered; participation, discussion, voting, and moving toward political equality. This distinction between participation on the one hand, and

discussion and voting on the other, is interesting; voting is generally considered participatory behavior, and discussion seems necessary for negotiation, another identified component of participation.

According to Thompson (1980), two principles exist across these spectra of perspective and action: Citizen autonomy and citizen self-improvement. The need for these aspects of democracy is seen as the justification for citizen participation in government. Both the burdens and the benefits of planning are seen as integral to citizenship, and the burden of proof is placed on the elitist (or representative) camp to demonstrate to the citizens that it is acting in the public interest.

Kweit & Kweit (1981) list three goals of citizen participation: Redistribution of power, improvements in service delivery, and "improvements in citizen attitudes," by which they mean fostering an appreciation of the various aspects and functions of government. They describe these in terms of three models of citizen participation, applying their analysis to three case studies.

Kweit & Kweit (1981) studied these three goals with the hypothesis that because they were so different, different factors would account for the success of each of them. These included characteristics of a) the political environment, b) the organization promoting participation, c) the structure of citizen participation, and d) the participants.

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the Kweit & Kweit data at length, the substantiated hypotheses will be reported in brief. For the policy impact model, there was one substantiated hypothesis: The greater the reformed structures of government (city manager vs. mayor-council, nonpartisan vs, partisan elections, and at-large vs. district representation), the less impact citizen participation would have on policy (as there would be a high degree of professional expertise, citizens could affect for the most part only the premise of a project, rather than its form (cf. Ragan, 1986, below). For the power redistribution model, substantiated hypotheses were a) the greater the reformed structures of government, the less the power distribution, and b) the greater the conflict, the less the power redistribution. For the citizen attitudes model, substantiated hypotheses included a) the greater the conflict, the less trusting and efficacious are the citizens, and b) the more satisfied the citizens are with participation, the more trusting and efficacious they will be (pp. 119-33; 149-50; 159; 163-4).

Sewell & Coppock (1977), list twelve citizen participation techniques in use at the time the book was written, in increasing order of the time commitment required: Public opinion polls, and other surveys; referenda; the ballot box; public hearings; advocacy planning; letters to editors or public officials; representations of pressure groups; protests and

demonstrations; court actions; public meetings; workshops or seminars; and task forces. They also state that the list is in increasing order of "the possibilities for interaction between planners and the public, and hence increasing opportunities for mutual education as to perspectives" (pp. 3-5).

Forms and sub-forms of citizen participation identified by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations include 1) the organizational (citizen groups, special interest groups, and specific program clientele groups); 2) the individual (voting, being a program client, making statements, working in public projects, campaigning/lobbying, administrative appeals, going to court, demonstrations); 3) information dissemination (open government, meetings/speakers bureaus, conferences, publications, mass media, displays/exhibits, mail, advertising/notices, hot lines, drop-in centers, correspondence, word of mouth); information collection (hearings, workshops/meetings/conferences, consultation, government records, nongovernment documents, participant observers, surveys).

Models of the structure of citizen participation vary according to the level of participation desired; for those advocating lower levels of participation, the structure is generally designed to solicit input without necessitating any direct response from the decision-makers, and for those advocating citizen control, the structure of participation

may mirror that of the bureaucracy, as in a "shadow government" (Phillips, 1981).

Creighton, shying away from citizen power, let alone control, lists four stages of citizen participation, all of which come under the "consultation" rung of Arnstein's ladder (which is on the "degrees of tokenism" level) (Creighton, cited in Mach, 1986). Creighton distinguishes between the forms of public hearings, "controlled participation," "integrated participation," and "institutionalization," but all four are from an agency's point of view, and all four are meant only to solicit opinions from citizens. His final stage, institutionalization, simply refers to an agency soliciting opinions on all major decisions. He does not suggest that citizens even should have representation when decisions are made.

Likewise, Ragan (1986) writes of a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers dam project ostensibly using participation on the level of consultation, though in this case, the proposed project itself was taken as given--the only chance for participation was in letting officials know which alternative to consider. This is then, according to Arnstein, actually a case of the lowest level of "participation," manipulation.

Ertel (1979) found that most professionals working with the organization of citizen participation programs listed conducting public meetings, organizing citizen advisory

groups, and organizing public meetings as the overwhelmingly most important tasks in producing a successful program. This conclusion is consistent with Hester, who found that community design professionals (who rate citizen participation as a key factor in community design) listed group process skills as essential for community design (by a 73% majority). Political organizing was listed second with a 70% majority.

Similarly, Fagence (1977) lists group relations, decision-making, and public relations skills as necessary for an effective citizen participation program. He further provides a method for analyzing various means of participation (techniques such as public hearings and questionnaires), distinguishing such techniques first by their degree of potential impact, with programs being generally at one end or the other of the spectrum (high- or low-impact). Secondly, he questions whether the particular technique is "capable of sustaining a high level of impact on the decision-making process." He then distinguishes between programs which are "of the 'self-help' variety," setting these apart from paternalistic programs, and lastly, discusses techniques dependent on some "improved" level of communication technology (pp. 274ff.).

Fagence's conventional, low-impact means of participatory planning include exhibitions, public meetings and hearings, information publication, questionnaire surveys, use of the media, and referenda as major

techniques. Innovative means include the Delphi technique of reiterative anonymous group opinion polling; the Nominal Group method, which combines individual and group reflection on a set of questions; brainstorming; and the Charrette, which requires a problem to be solved cooperatively, willing participants, suitable information retrieval capability, and a commitment to action on the result by policy-makers; gaming-simulation; and scenario-writing.

Fagence's self-help techniques include manuals and task forces; the latter may include community development corporations and other locally controlled institutions. Techniques falling under the category of "improved communication technology" include telephone conferencing, mass communication, such as through radio and cable television (especially including call-in feedback), and combinations thereof as necessary for large populations.

One method for consultation which is well-developed and favored by many writers is the citizen survey. Advantages include the random sample which will reflect a broader range of public opinion than that gained from those able to attend public meetings, the clarification of public attitudes and assumptions which underlie conventional wisdom, and the possibility of broadening the spectrum of discussion through open-ended questions (Milbrath, 1983). Disadvantages include the possibility of a poor response, the lack of a perspective gained on issues from personal contact within a longer period of time, the possibility of a large expense

(though this can be avoided using the volunteer labor of local groups and individuals), and the need for skilled survey construction and interpretation (Milbrath, 1983; Elmquist, 1988).

During the recent debate in Barnstable County, Massachusetts (Cape Cod) as to whether or not to create a regional planning commission with the authority to approve or disapprove land use proposals, a survey designed by a Clark University Geography professor (Mitchell, 1989) was sent out to random residents in one of the towns (Sandwich) which was 13 pages long, had 54 questions, and took at least a half-hour to complete. Obviously, a great deal of information can be gained from such a survey, even though it might prove too much of a task for citizens uncomfortable with long bureaucratic forms.

Another way in which citizen participation is expressed directly is through the use of referenda, both binding and non-binding, within some state government structures. Kahn (1985) and Longhini (1985) cite California as a state which has institutionalized planning-by-referenda. Kahn (1985) writes that California has a history of such citizen action dating back to at least 1906, when Los Angeles citizens banned slaughterhouses from the city.

Finally, Preston (1990), formerly of the Center for Rural Massachusetts, in a practical vein, lists "ten maxims for effective citizen participation": 1) know your facts (including related issues and the process within which one

is working); 2) don't reinvent the wheel (do adequate research on the history of the matter before going public); 3) stress the generic implications of the project at hand, as any new public project or policy will be an integral part of a whole; 4) ask who is affected by the policy and create coalitions; who benefits and who loses? 5) identify the opinion leaders and work with them; 6) give the decision-makers good, concise information on no more than one sheet (note that this implies a certain disempowerment, which is realistic but might not give sufficient weight to questions of power and control); 7) don't be strident; 8) use the media (including preparing copy and holding events); 9) give credit to policy makers for taking the positions you support; and 10) listen actively and identify areas of agreement. To this she adds an eleventh point: Maintain a sense of humor.

Neighborhood Planning

One closely related topic is that of neighborhood planning. There is considerable debate in the literature surrounding a definition of neighborhood planning: Some take the "weak" position, here meaning the assumption of a "top-down" or hierarchical flow of power and claiming that neighborhood planning is merely a logical component of municipal planning, where municipal planners plan for whole neighborhoods as distinct regions (Hutcheson, J., 1984). This approach can been seen in references to "neighborhood

planners," a term which assumes that the planners are people other than the citizen residents (Rohe & Gates, 1986), thus representing the "weak" approach to neighborhood planning.

The "strong" approach is taken by others who see neighborhood planning as necessitating a "bottom-up" or grass-roots participatory component, if not an overall program (Checkoway, 1984), where the defining characteristic involves the neighborhood as a group of citizens having input regarding plans referred to the neighborhood by the local or regional planning board, or a developer, or any other proponent of neighborhood-wide change (Solomon, 1986). Checkoway (1984) distinguishes the former, hierarchical definition as "subarea planning" to differentiate it from a neighborhood-as-actor framework.

One counterpoint which must be considered here is raised by Richardson (1983), who notes that the decentralization of government services, as in the case of top-down neighborhood planning, may or may not entail greater participation. It is conceivable, though seemingly not likely, that greater participation could be effected by a centralized program. The negative form of the argument is much stronger, stating that the geographical decentralization of services does not necessarily increased participation; this possibility deserves attention from both planners and citizen advocates, keeping Arnstein's "placating" type of participation in mind.

Rohe & Gates (1986) write from the perspective of hierarchical ("weak" participation) planners. They produced a lengthy research report, Planning with Neighborhoods, which assumes that neighborhood planning is hierarchical (out of several propositions examined, only one dealt specifically with citizen participation) but is even so generally positive or progressive in its results, especially increasing citizen access to the bureaucracy, though of course the bureaucratic response may vary greatly.

They note that in response to a survey of programs which were identified as neighborhood planning, only 25 percent of the respondents thought to include increased citizen participation as a benefit of their program. Perhaps this can simply be attributed to the lack of a specific question regarding participation, but the general lack of attention given to it suggests that participation was not a high priority for the planners surveyed. Schwab (1987) takes the "grass-roots" perspective, reporting on neighborhoods which have become activated for planning, in response to a perceived lack of appropriate attention on the part of municipal officials especially through the initiation of referenda.

Rafter (1980), in a structural approach, sees four levels of neighborhood planning, having various degrees of institutionalization. The most institutionalized, and strongest, is the "citywide neighborhood planning board," officially recognized in municipal by-laws. These boards

may have certain policy-making powers and are given budgets for professional assistance. The only one of the four levels to have a chance for strong neighborhood planning, even these boards are kept to an advisory capacity. The other levels, in order of decreasing formality, are "selected district advisory boards," created in "target" neighborhoods; "recognized neighborhood organizations," which are often already established organizations in which the municipal government finds potential use; and "cooperative neighborhood organizations," which communicate informally with planning officials on various ad hoc matters.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION, PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY

> I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education (Thomas Jefferson, writing in 1821, cited in Padover, 1958, p. 89-90).

One often-cited fundamental contradiction of our current system is this: On the one hand, we hold values of democratic equality and freedom; on the other, we create a representative government and special agencies to take on the burden of decision-making (Fagence, 1977; Sewell & Coppock, 1977b; Kweit & Kweit, 1981; Lucy, 1988). These two opposing forces of our government are usually seen to collide in the practice of citizen participation in environmental planning. It is for this reason that I chose to work in towns with open Town Meetings, where legal approval of board decisions is directly democratic.

Open Town Meetings exist only in New England and are by no means ubiquitous, representative Town Meetings and city governments being other common forms of municipal government. In open Town Meetings, all registered voters have the right to meet as a legislative body to debate and vote on town by-laws, the town budget and the tax rate that will support that budget (that is, their own taxes). This

level of control appears not to be appreciated or even well known outside of New England. Such Town Meetings occur at least annually, though petitions for more frequent meetings are allowed.

Because the literature on citizen participation deals almost exclusively on representative government, the following reflects that predominant reality. Still, since there is a tremendous amount of work done by (representative) citizen committees in towns with open Town Meetings, as part of the executive branch of government, most of the issues below are directly applicable to towns with open Town Meetings.

One of the main problems with citizen participation in environmental planning is the public's general lack of expertise (Schatzow, 1977; Fagence, 1977). Stewart (1976) casts the debate in terms of the centralization of decision-making authority vs. its decentralization. This is compounded by the problem of the general lack of technical education of a typical citizenry (Stewart, 1976; Fagence, 1977). Education in technical matters is sometimes seen as a major reason for citizen education programs; indeed, these two parallel concerns seem to necessitate an approach to democracy which integrates education with participation.

Fagence takes the position that the two goals of applying highly developed knowledge to areas of concern and providing as much participation as possible are opposed to each other. This results in an inability to maximize either

variable, but it also assumes that citizens are generally incapable of becoming trained enough in planning to act as professionals. This raises the question of what constitutes an appropriate degree of citizen education for planning, for, as the quotation from Jefferson above implies, the problem can only be mitigated through education, rather than lowering the professionalism of the inquiry. See below for a fuller discussion of educational issues.

Kweit & Kweit (1981) point out as problems for democracy in implementing a program of citizen participation that 1) programs of citizen participation may raise expectations to an unrealistic level, 2) that there are questions of structure regarding the degree of inclusivity of a representative government of citizens, 3) there are many unresolved questions regarding the legal status of citizen advisory groups or other groups which spring from mandated participation, and 4) the bureaucratic/expert environment (of which planning is an excellent example) is a "particularly inhospitable context" for citizen participation (pp. 162-3).

Sewell & Coppock (1977b) and O'Riordan (1977) list several problems with democratic participation, including inter-scale problems of planning decisions (or local versus regional perspectives; seen in Creighton"s horizontally- and vertically-linked groups, above); the triplet problems of who should participate, to what degrees in what cases should we have representative or direct democracy, and how can

adequate representation be assured; how can we secure appropriate valuation of common resources. Their concern with these issues is simply to point out questions which must be addressed for meaningful participation to take place. They come to no conclusion, leaving the questions to be decided case-by-case by those involved.

Another problem is that citizens who participate in formal planning procedures may not be representative of the public at large (Stewart, 1976; Hutcheson, J., 1984; Lucy, 1988). This argument fails to point out that current formal arrangements, created by those in positions of power, are generally not designed for maximum inclusivity; indeed, it seems plausible that these formal meetings might intimidate those not used to public forums and political debate on the municipal or regional level. This can only be the fault of those soliciting participation, i.e., the planners. Countering this claim, Gundry and Heberlein (1984) find that adequate representation in public meetings often does occur if three conditions are met, a) the meetings are well-publicized, b) the meetings are "easily and equitably accessible," and c) the organizers take pains to consult all those present about their opinions (p. 175).

One problem of very recent genesis is that of "strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs)" (Canan & Pring, 1988). There has been a growing trend of civil-damage lawsuits which claim "injury from <u>citizen contact with a government official, agency, or electorate on</u>

a substantive issue of public significance" (p. 386, emphasis in the original). Though there is as yet inconclusive evidence that such litigation "chills" public participation generally, that hypothesis remains plausible and deserves further attention.

Participation in Environmental Planning

A good deal of effort has gone into creating techniques for participation in various fields, including environmental projects, because of various government mandates for participation, most notably the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), which took effect January 1, 1970. Numerous environmental problems have been approached with citizen participation, including water resources planning (Ertel & Koch, 1976, 1977; Ertel, 1979; Priscoli, 1983; Borton & Warner, 1971), land use planning (Sewell & Coppock, 1977; Fagence, 1979); the siting of energy facilities (Wengert & Hamilton, 1983), siting of hazardous waste facilities (Regens, 1983) and scenic quality analysis (Cros, Diebold, & Luginbuhl, 1980; Dearden, 1981).

Creighton's (1981) Public Involvement Manual is based on a work by the same name done the year before for the United States Department of the Interior (Creighton, 1980). In both works, he makes the point that public participation has been mandated in "every major piece of environmental legislation since NEPA" (Creighton, 1981, p. 18; 1980, p. 18).

The effectiveness of NEPA in increasing public participation in environmental decision-making is evaluated by H. Ingram & S. Ullery (1977). The participation requirements of the Act are found wanting, perhaps even misleading (p. 138):

> There is no question that the opportunity for the procedural participation of new environmentally oriented public bodies has become greater as a result of NEPA. The environmental impact statement process throws open to everyone the right to comment and have their remarks printed. These formal channels of communication may give the illusion of substantive participation, but only when new information is a basis for terminal decisions is substantive participation achieved.
>
> NEPA's requirements may have created some new substantive channels of communication but these were not automatically reserved for the use of environmentalists, nor did they serve to overcome the strength of already existing channels. While environmentalists may employ some of these channels in their attempt to influence decision-making, the traditional economic development interests have also used these new channels for successfully pursuing their own ends.
>
> The most important result of NEPA may be to legitimize a decision-making process it was meant to change. New environmental public bodies may be satisfied in the short run with the symbolic deference to their values given in NEPA's statement of goals and in the procedural attention given to their concerns in the environmental impact statement process. In the long run, however, when the objective reality is continued environmental degradation and policy inertia the failure to open substantive channels to environmental interests will expose the illusory nature of NEPA's procedures.

One agency to follow NEPA's lead has been the U.S. Forest Service. In an article by J. C. Hendee (in Sewell & Coppock, 1977), a large public involvement program is described. The program was directed toward the review of

roadless areas in national forests to determine which should be studied further for possible inclusion in a permanently-roadless classification under the Wilderness Act of 1954. Note that the decisions to be made as a result of this program were oriented only toward further study: The power to make decisions regarding the actual classification of land remained with the Forest Service. Even so, the program represented a step forward for the Forest Service and was useful for evaluating basic aspects of participation.

In this program, several techniques were used to gather input from citizens, including public meetings, workshops including representatives from various interests, an advisory board, ad hoc committees, consultation with community opinion leaders, questionnaires with information sheets, and the use of mass media. Predictably, the effectiveness of these varied from region to region; eventually, elements of several techniques were combined in producing participation programs for each particular setting.

Five processes were identified through this process as basic to public involvement: Issue definition; collection of opinion by all means; description of opinion; evaluation of opinion; and the implementation of decisions based at least in part on public opinion. These processes are seen as being complementary; each needs the others for maximum utility.

Several issues apart from process were identified as well. There was a major problem with scale (as mentioned above)--the scale of input tended to be local, with regional and national interests under-represented; proximity to the involvement process tended to enhance commitment to it (apparently, participation can breed participation; a gratifying conclusion); attention must be paid to the difference between the quantity and the quality of citizen input (implying the need for concurrent education); and the representativeness of those participating must always be considered (as discussed above).

Great Britain has had considerable relevant experience with participation in planning. There, where the term "collaborative planning" is also used, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (in charge of the development plan system) created the Planning Advisory Group (PAG) in 1964 to oversee the Ministry's plans (meaning to keep it out of public controversy so far as possible). The PAG saw itself explicitly "as a means of public participation in the planning process" (Planning Advisory Group, 1965, cited in Fagence, 1977, p. 263). Participation was seen not only as the consumption of information concerning planning proposals but included "an explanation of the processes involved from the means of plan generation to the rights of objection or comment" (Fagence, 1977). Education concerning the <u>process</u> of planning is included, but a commensurate concern regarding education about the <u>content</u> is less evident.

Recommendations of the Planning Advisory Group led first to the Town and Country Planning Act of 1968, and second to the formation of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning, called the Skeffington Committee after its chairman. The Skeffington Committee was charged "to consider and report on the best methods, including publicity, of securing the participation of the public at the formative stage in the making of development plans for their area" (Fagence, 1977, p. 265).

In its 1969 report, People and Planning (also called the Skeffington Report), the Committee made the following recommendations (Fagence, 1977, p. 265):

(1) the public should be given information;
(2) the public should be advised of the availability of information;
(3) public comment and representations should be accepted into the planning process continuously;
(4) the local planning authorities should convene community forums;
(5) the efforts of publicity should be directed widely;(6) community development officers should be appointed to secure the involvement of traditional non-joiners;
(7) participants should be informed of the use made of the representations;
(8) participation should have a diversity of expressions; and
(9) a general effort should be made to educate the public about planning methods and procedures.

Though the Skeffington Report made these relatively strong suggestions for increasing participation, there remained no equally strong implementing force for participation (Fagence, 1977). So, without an enabling

section for citizen power, this program, while relatively progressive, must be considered a weak proposal.

Also, though the Town and Country Planning Act of 1971 "embodies the spirit" of the Skeffington Report (Fagence, 1977, p. 268) and enables the Secretary of State to refuse plans which have not adequately included measures to ensure participation, no specific process for ensuring participation is outlined in the Act, although suggestions such as exhibitions and films are mentioned (Richardson, 1983). This apparently means that any degree of participation may suffice as far as the law is concerned; it seems unlikely that the Secretary of State would use his or her power to reject a plan on these grounds except in an outrageous case.

In comparison, Zillessen (1980, p. 34) outlines the participation requirements of the West German Town Planning Promotion Act (no date is given). This is truly strong participation, as "ordinances" arising from the community are treated as legislative proposals; Step 3 is the vital step. Section numbers refer to the Act:

> Step 1: A preliminary inquiry into "the necessity of the renovation, the social, structural, and town planning conditions and relationships" (§4.1).
> Step 2: A discussion of the community's ideas with those affected (§4.2), the results of which are to be contained the report on the preliminary investigations.
> Step 3: The community's decision on the formal determination of the area to be renovated is to be expressed as an ordinance that is to be given to the higher administrative authorities for approval. The proposal is

attached to the report on the preliminary investigation. Public announcement is then made of both the ordinance and the approval by the administrative authorities (§5.1-3).

Step 4: Formation of a social plan that is to be continuously supplemented during the renovation by discussions with those directly affected. Other considerations taken into account are employment, business and familial conditions, age structure, living necessities, and social implications (§8.2).

Step 5: Discussions with those affected about the new form the area to be renovated is to take and about the possibility of their participation. If desired, an adequate period of time is to be allotted for comments to be prepared. A report is to be written on the discussions (§9).

While there are legal questions such as whether planning decisions are administrative or legislative, or whether referenda represent more a positive public relations opportunity than a long-term solution to participation (Longhini, 1985), a more fundamental question has to do with the public's ability to make wise planning decisions.

If the public is to assert control over planning decisions, it must become familiar not only with the social context within which planning takes place but also with basic planning issues and techniques. For this to happen, at least one necessary condition must be met: Citizens must have easy and timely access to necessary information, covering not only the basics of planning but any information relevant to problems at hand, including those concerning the natural environment, society, economics, and technology.

Education for Participation in Planning

As mentioned above, one recurrent problem with participation is the technical nature of the issues to be decided. Even a generally well-educated public may not know sufficient details of a proposal to be in a position to have adequately informed opinions. It is precisely for this reason, though, that more, rather than less, public participation is essential to a responsible democratic government.

The less citizens know about an issue, the less long term, solid support they are likely to give decisions by their elected representatives on that issue (aside from the irrational support given demagogues). Also, decisions made by representatives without adequate citizen knowledge may cause a backlash, as in the weakening of the comprehensive land use acts in Maine and Vermont. Vermont no longer requires approval of municipal plans by regional agencies; Maine no longer funds municipal comprehensive planning. In neither state was there substantial citizen participation in the development of the Act.

Rosenbaum (1976, pp. 21-23) lists "public preparation" as one of three major components to a citizen participation process (the others being citizen participation and governmental accountability). In this, he includes:

> 1) educating the public on the basic concepts and processes of decision making; and 2) providing accurate, understandable information about current policy issues and notifying the public about opportunities to participate.

According to Rosenbaum, such a large task should be shared by schools, neighborhood organizations, the news media, labor unions and businesses. Information should be presented on a variety of levels of sophistication, as citizens have varying levels of knowledge.

A well-informed electorate is also of special importance for professional civil servants such as planners: A well-informed public will value and respect their specialized training. Professionals should likewise encourage and respect a generally well-informed public and its well-formed opinions.

While one object of citizen participation in planning is to involve citizens in the debate about development, to include their values, attitudes and knowledge concerning development and its potential impact on their communities, this kind of participation can have only a minimal effect if citizens are unable to express their preferences in terms meaningful to planners, who are charged with implementing decisions. Thus, planners concerned with public input must strive to listen carefully to the public (Ertel, 1979; Hendee, 1977), and at the same time, the public must make an effort to articulate its issues in planners' language (cf. Rosenbaum, 1976, p. 23). Citizens must be educated, or better, must educate themselves, so that a productive dialogue can be developed.

Howard T. Odum writes:

> Man's survival will probably depend on his being able to see what his vast human system has become in relation to preceding and possible earth systems. And he must acquire the necessary understanding rapidly enough to adapt his opinions, folkways, mores, and action programs to the great new systems and provide a continuing survival path for them. Since decisions on such matters in the arena of public affairs are ultimately made according to the beliefs of the citizens, it is the citizens who must somehow include the energetics of systems in their education. In some way the behavior of the large and small systems must be understood and that knowledge must be communicated to the dispersed intelligence of the modern decision apparatus (1971, p. 9).

Because the government takes responsibility for the education of its citizens, the government must ensure that the public is well-informed enough to make the decisions requires of its citizens. This cannot be seen simply as an informational campaign for some specific issue; first, the public must have a enough of a broad background in issues of importance so that an informational update will be all the public needs to begin effective participation; second, there must be a steady flow of pertinent information from the government so that the mass media is not the only source of environmental information (as essential as it is).

One purpose of citizen participation, as in general government, is to avoid as many future problems as possible. This negative, "avoidance-of-problem" aspect of participation is complemented by a more positive aspect having to do with community education: As Ahern (1989, p. 10) writes regarding large-scale (regional) planning, "to the extent that the [extensive open space network] involves

a broad cross section of the local social system through direct involvement, it will contribute to a greater social acceptance of the sustainable paradigm." Unless the public has sufficient knowledge of planning issues, this opportunity for sustainable development may be lost.

Giving consideration to the disempowered, Kraushaar (1988, p. 94) quotes Paulo Friere:

> In order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no escape, but as a limiting situation which they can transform.

Planning has been criticized for maintaining the status quo at the expense of the disadvantaged in society (Beauregard, 1978; Goodman, 1971; both cited in Kraushaar, 1988). As planners work within the bureaucracy, the most they can hope for in terms of substantive citizen participation is to help effect a transition from current organizations to innovative and transformational organizations which can help swing the balance of governmental power toward citizens while remaining relevant to the existing power structure (Kraushaar, 1988).

Knack (1986) proposes that education in planning should begin as early as possible, an idea she traces both to Kevin Lynch, who studied "the environmental perceptions of children and adolescents in Poland, Australia, and Hungary" under a United Nations Educational, Social, and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) grant, and to the Greek architect Constantine Doxiadis.

Children's involvement in planning has been formalized more through planning departments than through schools. Knack cites Seattle, Berkeley, and Portland, and Louisville as cities which have formalized the participation of children. There are school programs in Denver, Colorado, Ithaca, New York (as part of Cornell University's planning and design program), and Portsmouth, New Hampshire; a state-wide effort to introduce the study of the built environment is underway in Indiana. Moore (in Knack, 1986) cites England's urban studies centers as having ties to local schools, especially in the form of collecting data for community projects, though it is unclear how many of these are specifically oriented toward planning.

The planning theorist Patrick Geddes (cited in Fagence, 1977, pp. 102-4) offered three methods for citizen participation, two of which involve education. First, the general public should be educated through public exhibitions, including incorporating planning concepts and examples of practice into traditional museums. Second, the public should be involved in the collection of information to be used in planning. He especially advocated this "learn-by-doing" approach for schoolchildren. Not only would they themselves learn about planning, they were likely to pass on their newly-learned information to their friends and family. Finally, there was to be public involvement in the construction of various alternative planning proposals. Geddes even suggested that any citizen whose work was

incorporated in the final plan should be reimbursed at the salary rate of the professional planners.

The use of radio (specifically, public radio) for the communication of environmental planning information has also been advocated (Wakem and Gough, cited in Commission for the Environment, 1979, pp. 107-15; cf. Fagence, 1977, pp. 322-6). Benefits might include the "stimulation of the public imagination" (p. 110), "communication of full information leading to understanding...cooperation and support" (p. 111), identification of attitudes, and catalysis of action.

In summary, education is essential for meaningful, productive participation. This education for the responsibilities of citizen participation may begin as early as formal education begins; at the least, citizens should have the opportunity to explore and discuss planning issues in educative forums. Such education should include gathering data for planning, and resources for such programs should be publicly provided, and should use any available media.

Education and Participation in Community Development

Topics in this field fall under the general heading of civic education. The Jeffersonian ideal of a citizenry adequately educated for participation in public affairs is applied here especially to adult education and its agencies, which are seen as "uniquely positioned to promote the civic-minded attitudes and skills necessary for participation and

involvement in a democratic society..." (Boggs, 1991, p. 46). Boggs paraphrases Lindeman as defining social progress as occurring "when learners immersed in community problems apply civic learning to their resolution" (p. 49).

More specifically, education for community development, especially adult and community education, has received some attention in the literature, as mentioned in Chapter One. Boone writes, "If the world is to have the thoughtful, prepared, and involved adults it needs to assure positive social change and the survival of humanity, adult education must take the lead" (1980, p. 9).

Compton and McClusky write of "'the community problem,' or the inability of the community to organize its forces to cope effectively with its specific ailments." They propose the concept of "community education for development" (CED) as "a process whereby community members come together to identify their problems, seek solutions among themselves, mobilize the necessary resources, and execute a plan of action or learning or both." Compton and McClusky then go even further, bringing in the concept of planning: "CED is an effort through which the community is planned as a whole." Here, the community being developed is seen as including both "external" features such as the physical environment and "internal" features such as ideals and values (pp. 227-29). They note:

> The post-Great Society era has taught us many lessons. We have come to realize the limits of top-down approaches to community development,

> which have generally been unable to accommodate local variation or to obtain the needed local resources....Thus the current situation calls for local problem-solving: many things bothering us today would respond to local efforts at planned change. The participation of local citizens can be at least one means of coping with the problems of scale, of resource scarcity, and of adapting development efforts to local conditions. In addition, citizen participation is an important sociopsychological ingredient in both individual and community development. Involvement brings about a positive self-concept, a sense of control, and a sense of commitment and responsibility to others, which serve as a motivation for personal and community change. In fact, the importance of citizen participation in inducing a sense of identity and belonging--the foundation of [community] development--cannot be overestimated (p. 228).

Grantham & Dyer write similarly about "community development education," by which is meant not the education of professional community developers but community development as incorporating an educational process. To Grantham & Dyer, "community development as an educational process implies planned, purposeful attempts to respond positively to change...[becoming] proactive (and knowledgeable) rather than reactive" (1981, p. 14).

In this framework, the purpose of community development education is taken to be community problem solving, a point reiterated by Kaplan & Schwartz (1981). An educator's involvement focuses on four actions:

> 1) establishing contact with people in the community, 2) helping them diagnose their problems, 3) negotiating a contract with the learners...and 4) designing an educational program to examine the problem and evaluate the results.

This formulation comes quite close to the approach employed in this study, though there was no attempt to negotiate a contract with community members. In particular, one feature of this study, the brochure developed for Shays Town, included the first, second, and fourth elements (see Appendix C).

Grantham & Dyer cite a list of "commonly held assumptions" of community development educators, reproduced here as a generally valid set of statements about participatory community development planning:

1. People have the right to participate in decisions that have an effect upon their well-being.
2. Participatory democracy is the superior method of conducting community affairs.
3. People have the right to strive to create the environment that they desire.
4. People have the right to reject an externally imposed environment.
5. Maximizing human interaction in a community will increase the potential for human development.
6. Implicit within a process of interaction is an ever-widening concept of "community."
7. Every discipline or profession is potentially a contributor to a community's developmental process.
8. Motivation is created in people by their association with their environment.
9. Community development is interested in developing the ability of human beings to meet and deal with their environment. (p. 16)

Evaluation of Participation

It seems somewhat paradoxical that the institution of democracy, when advanced over a large territory or population, has resulted in a bureaucratic system which, out

of the necessity of specialization, may become profoundly undemocratic, to the point of therapy or manipulation. It is unfortunate that, although there are as many types of bureaucrats and citizens as there are people, that these two bodies can be in such apparent opposition. It seems clear, though, that the bureaucracy has historically been controlled by forces other than the citizenry (Arnstein, 1969, p. 222), and that the citizen participation movement has been a response to this state of affairs.

Evaluation of citizen participation programs represents another hurdle to be overcome. There is relatively little in the literature on questions of evaluation, whether theoretical or methodological. Debnam (1979) suggests three linked criteria: There must be an alteration in the pre-existing patterns and relations of power; once power is democratized, people must be able to identify their own interests (implying an educated citizenry); and these interests must not be inconsistent with the public interest. Increased citizen participation may be called successful if and only if these three conditions are satisfied.

Richardson (1983) notes that the results of participation are inherently unpredictable; if they were not, there would be no reason for participation. There is no general solution which can be attained, as all activity is essentially ad hoc and therefore unique. A description of possible results still leaves the practitioner with the question of what weight should be given to the result,

taking into account such issues as the relevance of the question under consideration to the whole community, the representativeness of the group (involving more than one group, or a whole population including the traditionally uninvolved, complicates matters), the group's technical ability (including its ability to forecast its long-term interests), its bureaucratic context (taken together with questions of real power), and so forth. The importance of the process of participation thus becomes coequal with the importance of any particular result.

Rosener (1983) maintains that making the goals and objectives of participation explicit, and the means to relate the goals and objectives to the level of participation obtained, is sufficient for meaningful evaluation, with the caveat that goals must not be treated as being unchangeable and that any changes made must be recognized and addressed.

Rosener worked within a highly bureaucratic framework (the Army Corps of Engineers) where the project goals were very clear and the participation occurred on the informational and consultational levels. She constructed "user-oriented," or "micro," evaluation systems for which participants listed their own goals (which could be grouped for the purpose of analyzing the evaluation). On one occasion she also constructed tables showing, for various dates, the number of citizens attending, the process employed for a particular purpose (information,

consultation, small group discussion, etc.), and the outcome or "product" of the meeting. Representativeness was self-evaluated using an unfortunately narrow set of choices (one had to be either an environmentalist, a developer, a local official, or a member of the Army Corps; multiple answers were not allowed).

For a second occasion (considering the development of Sanibel Island in southern Florida) she asked both the Corps and environmentalists, separately, to construct lists of goals and objectives, and during the course of the workshops given asked all participants to identify ways in which the achievement of their goals could be measured and subsequently whether or not they thought their goals had been achieved. The results of this process were compared with direct observation and content analysis of Corps documents. Rosener feels that a good deal of useful information was gathered using this approach, yet it should be noted that broader questions surrounding the context within which the process was taking place, as well as questions regarding representativeness and adequacy of participant information, were left unaddressed. Rosener's data is therefore mush less useful than it might have been; evaluation of partial aspects of participation can only lead to partial relevance of the results.

Cuthbertson (1983) likewise employs a narrow definition of participation but lists useful questions within that narrow context. She assumes consultation as the major goal

of participation; citizen empowerment is explicitly rejected. She treats the representation issue with an interesting twist: Since participation is voluntary, an agency should not expect representation in participation. Participation is assumed to be one source of data for an agency, on equal footing with engineering, economics, and environmental studies.

Within this context, however, some potentially useful evaluation questions are suggested:

1. Did the public participation activity accomplish what was intended (by the agency)? How well were the participation goals met?
2. Was there sufficient opportunity for interaction with the public?
3. Did the public participation activity generate appropriate data for the decision-makers?
4. Was the timing of the public participation proper for the decision-making process?
5. Did the public participation improve the quality of the decision? (1983, pp. 106-7)

Though these questions are a far cry from those which would be asked from a more directly democratic process evaluation, they form a potentially useful transition step in institutionalizing participation processes.

Speeter, assuming the locus of evaluation as being within the citizens' group of participants, suggests a series of questions for group self-evaluation:

> How do we <u>feel</u> about what happened (not <u>think</u>, but <u>feel</u>)?
> Are we clear about what happened:
> What were the results of what happened?
> Did it get us where we wanted to go? Were we successful?
> If not, what could we have done differently?

> Are there certain people we should talk to who could provide us with more objective information about how successful we were?
> What did we learn in all this about ourselves individually? about the organization? about the system?
> What is the next step? Why? When? Where? How? (1978, pp. 115-16)

The empowerment of citizens in planning requires a great deal of work, both in democratizing the political framework within which most of the region operates, and in facilitating the education which is required for responsible participation. Unless this work, this creation of educated, empowered citizens, is approached as a cooperative, collaborative effort, of benefit to the entire society, a great deal of energy may be spent uselessly in defending (or trying to change) the status quo, rather than in planning for a socially equitable and ecologically sustainable future.

CHAPTER IV

CREATING A START LIST FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: A SURVEY

On June 18, 1991 I sent out a questionnaire to 55 Massachusetts planning and environmental professionals asking: 1) What are the most important categories and items of knowledge for Massachusetts town citizens to know, given that the citizens may participate in all aspects of the passage of local by-laws and the creation of planning policy; and, 2) If possible, please rank or otherwise order the categories and items. The responses were used as a start list for the creation of categories of citizen concern in the analysis of the concerns of citizens as expressed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Those surveyed were encouraged to share the survey with others who might be interested. As of August 8, 15 of those originally surveyed or others had responded, for a gratifying and inspiring 27% response rate.

This report was intended to be the first step in what I hoped would be a two-step Delphi process. The report was sent to all of the individuals who responded to the first survey so that the second step--commenting on this draft--could be taken. The second step was meant to refine this study through incorporating the comments of respondents on the first draft, both in form and content; opinions on the compiled data would be used to revise the preliminary

conclusions. Unfortunately, though I had a good response from the first questionnaire, only three people responded to the report, and all of the comments were very brief. As the report was about 15 pages, it is possible respondents were overwhelmed with data.

I was particularly looking for 1) comments on the categories derived from the responses and on the content of the responses (are they necessary and sufficient?), 2) comments on the priorities given (do you agree?), and 3) suggestions for ways to organize the information coherently and concisely.

The report, excerpted below, begins with an outline of the methodology used to analyze the responses. The second section involves quantitative data, including charts showing the distribution of responses by category and priority. The third section is the heart of the report, listing the categories derived from the responses and discussing details of the responses by category.

Methodology

First, all of the responses were read and transcribed into a word processor under the name of each respondent. Responses were also coded with the respondent's initials. There were 15 respondents and a total of 82 responses (referred to here as "whole responses").

Second, categories of planning issues were derived from the initial reading and transcribing process. Some could be

identified easily as reflections of general planning literature and practice; some were more specific. The responses typically contained several issues, though (one complex response involved seven categories!), so the total number of responses ordered by category (called "category-responses" here to distinguish them from the 82 whole responses), was 210. Third, the whole responses were ordered by priority (the ranking involved in the questionnaire). In the case of more than one item ranked equally, the first one was given a higher rank and the last one the lowest. Fourth, the category-responses were integrated with the rankings to show the distribution of respondent's concerns by priority.

Following, in chart form, are the categories and items of knowledge listed by the respondents. Each category has been assigned a letter for ease of presentation. These quantitative results are only meant to suggest the broad outlines of agreement. As the categories are general, these results can serve best as guideposts for further discussion.

Quantitative Results

The following were the categories derived from the survey, followed by the number of category-responses (the number of instances of the occurrence of an item with a category) in parentheses. The numbers are used in place of descriptions in the Tables following the list (pp. 91-93).

1--general and context awareness and understanding (32); 2--knowledge of existing state and local planning tools (31); 3--sense of community/quality of life/democracy (21); 4--by-laws (21); 5--knowledge of town process, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning, fiscal (19); 6--zoning (12); 7--citizen participation/involvement (11); 8--budget and fiscal (10); 9--environmental protection (10); 10--water and wetlands (7); 11--long-term planning (6); 12--open space (6); 13--regionalization (6); 14--aesthetics (5); 15--citizen skills (4); 16--farmland preservation (4); 17--recycling and waste (3); 18--environmental ethics (1); 19--public-private cooperation (1) (see Table 1, page 91). Total responses of the survey, by priority and category, are described in Tables 2 and 3 (pages 91 and 92).

A Brief Discussion of Quantitative Results

There seemed to be general agreement on the importance of the items within the higher priorities. This may be misleading, however, especially given the catch-all nature of the first and third categories and the potential for synthesizing other categories (see below for a discussion by category).

Table Four (p. 93) shows that 71 category-responses, one-third of the total (210), can be found in the four most-used categories under the top four priorities; 110, more

than half, can be found in the five most-used categories under the top five priorities (Table 5, p. 93).

When the scope is broadened to the six most-used categories and the top five priorities, 110 category-responses are found, more than one-half of all category-responses. (Also, 109 category-responses are found in the five most-used categories under the top six priorities.)

This suggests a broad agreement on the general items of importance for town citizens to know so that they can be prepared to act as informed citizens.

As above, though, this seeming agreement may be due to the non-specific nature of the top categories, especially "general and context awareness and understanding" and "sense of community/quality of life/democracy." Even so, these categories represent real, discrete ideas.

Responses by Category

These categories were derived from the many individual points which were made in people's responses. As mentioned earlier, even these individual responses could include several categories. Thus, there is a certain amount of redundancy in the specific items listed under each category.

Respondents were asked to respond to these categories and items by noting whether the categories seem important; whether there may be other significant categories; and whether there are any items which should be included under the given categories which are notable in their absence.

Table 1

Categories from Professionals' Survey, by Priority

Priority:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Category:										
1	4	3	9	5	5	2	2	1	1	-
2	8	5	4	4	4	3	2	-	1	-
3	5	5	4	1	1	2	2	1	-	-
4	5	3	4	2	3	1	2	1	-	-
5	3	3	6	3	1	1	1	1	-	-
6	4	3	-	1	2	1	1	-	-	-
7	-	3	-	2	1	1	2	1	1	-
8	1	2	2	1	2	1	-	-	1	-
9	-	3	2	1	2	-	1	1	-	-
10	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
11	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
12	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
13	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
15	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
19	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2

Total Responses from Professionals' Survey, by Priority

Priority:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Responses:	35	42	41	25	24	14	16	7	4	1

Table 3

Total Responses from Professionals' Survey, by Category

Category:	Responses:
1	32
2	31
3	21
4	21
5	19
6	12
7	11
8	10
9	10
10	7
11	6
12	6
13	6
14	5
15	4
16	4
17	3
18	1
19	1

Table 4

Professionals' Survey Responses for Top Four Priorities, by Category

Priority:	1	2	3	4	Total:
Category:					
1	4	3	9	5	21
2	8	5	4	4	21
3	5	5	4	1	15
4	5	3	4	2	14
Totals:	22	16	21	12	(71)

Table 5

Professionals' Survey Responses for Top Five Priorities, by Category

Priority:	1	2	3	4	5	Totals:
Category:						
1	4	3	9	5	5	26
2	8	5	4	4	4	25
3	5	5	4	1	1	16
4	5	3	4	2	3	17
5	3	3	6	3	1	16
6	4	3	0	1	2	10
Totals:	29	22	27	16	16	(110)

The words in many of these responses are those of the respondents. Any misinterpretation of these responses is my fault alone. I would be grateful if any respondent who notices a misinterpretation could point it out to me.

Categories Derived (the number of category-responses in parentheses)

1 · general and context awareness and understanding (32)

2 · knowledge of existing state and local planning tools (31)

3 · sense of community/quality of life/democracy (21)

4 · by-laws (20)

5 · knowledge of town process, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning, fiscal (19)

6 · zoning (12)

7 · citizen participation and involvement (11)

8 · budget and fiscal (10)

9 · environmental protection (10)

10 · water and wetlands (7)

11 · long-term planning (6)

12 · open space (6)

13 · regionalization (6)

14 · aesthetics (5)

15 · citizen skills (4)

16 · farmland preservation (4)

17 · recycling and waste (3)

18 · environmental ethics (1)

19 · public-private cooperation (1)

General awareness and understanding (33 responses). Eleven respondents have comments included under this category.

This category was created to include all responses which suggested that citizens need to have general knowledge of various kinds before taking part in decisions affecting town planning policy. Items were placed in this category if they were though to provide context or tools to aid in a general understanding of planning decisions.

Under the general topic of context, three sub-categories were derived; social, environmental, and combined socio-environmental.

Responses included under the social context included:

· Having a good historical perspective on current policies;

· understanding the mood of the town as to what kind of place the community was, is, and wants to be in the future;

· understanding the process for building consensus within the community, how town committees work, and how this relates to getting things through Town Meeting;

· knowing the basics of how local governments work and the responsibilities of the residents of that community (to vote, participate in Town Meeting, etc.);

· citizen knowledge of the relationship between sources of municipal funds and the multitude of public services local governments must (e.g. police, fire) vs. may

provide (e.g. stellar schools, open space/recreation facilities);

· knowledge of the fiscal impacts upon a town caused by rapid residential growth without accompanying non-residential growth;

· appreciating the impact of the explosion of human service needs at the local level which government is expected to address; and,

· appreciating the current condition of severe fiscal austerity and its impact on having communities join forces with their neighbors (e.g. provision of joint municipal service/consolidation); and,

· citizens should be know avenues for activity and be active.

Items included under the environmental context were 1) knowledge of a community's place in the bioregion and 2) that environmental impact must be a part of every decision.

Responses included in the combined environmental-social context were:

· Knowledge of the implications associated with the removal of prime farmland from production;

· critical importance of local- and regional-level planning to maintain a high quality of life and small town character: planning is not a luxury;

· citizens should be aware of town resources;

· knowing what their town will be like, given a full implementation of current by-laws and subdivision regulations;

· we must think not only of ourselves and our personal property but realize that we are part of a commons;

· there is a difference between zoning and planning;

· citizens should have an understanding of community economic systems, groundwater areas, and other enviro-economic background; and,

· since rural residents disdain the idea of telling neighbors what they can and cannot do with their property, they must be brought to realize that by turning their backs on the possibilities of by-law protection of rural character, they are allowing the insensitive forces of change, fueled by unfettered economics, to determine the quality of life in small towns.

Tools to aid a general understanding of issues include:

· Knowing town staffing levels and resources;

· phone # of town counsel;

· awareness of the constitutional tests of a) reasonable purpose, b) fair method and c) no complete taking of value of land;

· knowledge of innovative planning tools used successfully in other parts of this country and others;

· citizens should be aware of the attitudes of the townspeople on issues being addressed;

· citizens should appreciate the functions (benefits) provided by community gathering and recreation spaces (parks, swimming pools, etc.);

· citizens should have an appreciation of the fact that the real estate tax is the bedrock of town finance; it follows that the foundation of all community planning is land use planning;

· simple fact sheets that can be understood by citizens about [any proposed] by-law;

· the background of individuals/business that is promoting or fighting [any proposed] by-law;

· citizens' input matters and can have a positive effect;

· citizens should know of and insist on a rigorous permitting process;

· citizens should know record of enforcement of regulations;

· citizens should know how open town boards are and insist on open meetings; and,

· residential development is a net cost to the town in terms of tax base.

Existing planning tools (31 responses). Thirteen respondents included knowledge of existing planning tools in their comments.

Items of knowledge regarding citizen knowledge of general planning tools included:

· A general knowledge of land use zoning issues and techniques;

· knowing existing law and power of municipality to create law;

· knowing the present by-laws of town;

· legal requirements of town officials (regarding zoning by-laws, etc.);

· being aware of town resources; and,

· being aware of any town plan to create, or to limit, infrastructure such as public sewers, water, and/or new roads.

Specific items of planning recommended for citizen knowledge included:

· Zoning options and limitations under state zoning law (emphasizing the environmental protection aspects of this and (ad 1), including floodplains, wetlands, farmland, aquifer protection);

· state-level environmental laws, especially regarding wetlands; environmental impact reports; programs to protect farm/forest lands and open space by reducing taxes and providing funds for purchase; endangered species protection; clean water;

· existing town zoning code and map;

· subdivision regulations of the planning board;

· master plan or other planning devices for environmental protection, especially groundwater;

· non-zoning by-laws such as earth removal, local wetlands control, junk cars;

· tools related to water quality protection; and,

· innovative planning tools used successfully in other parts of this country and others.

In addition to these specific items, several general items for citizens' planning knowledge were discussed, including:

· Environmental issues related to quality of life; steps necessary to protect them;

· knowledge of where to go, and resources (people and agencies) available, to assist with the project [at hand]. And, willingness to ask;

· critical importance of local- and regional-level planning to maintain a high quality of life and small town character: planning is <u>not</u> a luxury; and,

· access to professional services.

Several suggestions were made for creative ways to deal with planning issues:

· Citizens should know that development (as externally imposed on the town) is not inexorable but can be shaped to meet small communities' needs;

· knowing how to change present zoning so that new development will be more appropriately located and designed--the tools are at hand and not terribly difficult to implement;

· citizens should know about and insist on long-term planning; and,

· being aware of, and putting into practice, the idea of designing for a maximum population establishing short- and long-range goals with respect to the future quality of life in the town and promulgating zoning, etc. toward the desired goals.

Knowledge of the consequences of current trends was also stressed:

· Citizens should know what their town will be like, given a full implementation of current by-laws and subdivision regulations;

· zoning does not necessarily protect the character of citizens' towns;

· large-lot zoning doesn't protect open space;

· residential development is a net cost to the town in terms of tax base;

· knowing what the town will look like when the current zoning is fully implemented: all meadows and fields divided into houselots and all highway frontage lined with roadside commerce, plastic signs and roadside parking lots.

Specific items of knowledge suggested for citizens included local health regulations relating to septic systems and their relation to the state "title 5" code and issues and practices regarding solid waste recycling.

Lastly, the knowledge of the limits of planning was thought to be important. It was stated that citizens should be aware of the constitutional tests of a) reasonable purpose, b) fair method and c) no complete taking of value of land, and that limits on ability to implement planning include the lack of 1) a central planning authority, 2) an enforceable legal requirement for planning, 3) a requirement that development regulations be consistent with town plan, and 4) the practice of grandfathering.

Community quality of life/democracy (21 responses). Eleven respondents contributed items to this category.

This category was first derived from what appears to be an inseparable confluence of democracy and environmental quality. Certain issues of human freedom and democracy seem inextricable from issues of environmental protection.

On the purely democratic aspect of the category, respondents felt that citizens should know existing law and power of municipality to create law; that citizens' input matters and can have a positive effect; that citizens should have an understanding of the process for building consensus within the community, how town committees work, and how this relates to getting things through Town Meeting; and that citizens should know the basics of how local governments work and the responsibilities of the residents of that community (to vote, participate in Town Meeting, etc.).

Democracy and environmental quality are related in the following concerns of respondents:

· since rural residents disdain the idea of telling neighbors what they can and cannot do with their property, they must be brought to realize that by turning their backs on the possibilities of by-law protection of rural character, they are allowing the insensitive forces of change, fueled by unfettered economics, to determine the quality of life in small towns;

· citizens should know the environmental issues related to quality of life and the steps necessary to protect them;

· citizens should have an understanding of the mood of the town as to what kind of place the community was, is, and wants to be in the future;

· citizens should know the importance of passing [a proposed] by-law, i.e. zoning laws, in order to maintain the integrity/quality of life in the community;

· citizens should know the critical importance of local- and regional-level planning to maintain a high quality of life and small town character: planning is <u>not</u> a luxury;

· citizens should be aware of and advocate or practice the idea of designing for a maximum population establishing short- and long-range goals with respect

to the future quality of life in the town and promulgating zoning, etc. toward the desired goals; and,

· citizens need to have an understanding of community economic systems, groundwater areas, and other enviro-economic background.

More specifically, planning and zoning, as tools of the protection of the quality of life, enter into democratic picture in the following ways:

· What the town will look like when the current zoning is fully implemented: all meadows and fields divided into houselots and all highway frontage lined with roadside commerce, plastic signs and roadside parking lots;

· zoning does not necessarily protect the character of citizens' towns;

· large-lot zoning doesn't protect open space;

· town plan to create, or to limit, infrastructure such as public sewers, water, and/or new roads;

· it is not possible to eliminate development, but we <u>can</u> use it to our advantage;

· knowledge of the implications associated with the removal of prime farmland from production;

· the functions (benefits) provided by community gathering and recreation spaces (parks, swimming pools, etc.);

· citizens' knowledge of a community's place in the bioregion is perhaps the most general aspect of planning for quality of life; and,

· concerns for affordable housing need not result in "ugly" development.

The social quality of life was also noted, especially regarding the explosion of human service needs at the local level which government is expected to address.

By-laws (21 responses). Eight respondents accounted for these 21 responses.

General concerns were noted by four respondents, that citizens should know the present by-laws of their town and the laws implemented by each board, along with an awareness of the power of a municipality to create law; the legal requirements of town officials (zoning by-laws, etc.); the structure of how planning is influenced by numerous, usually uncoordinated Boards and Commissions, with varying powers and responsibilities, and, citizens should have good bylaw writing skills (e.g., that make for easy enforceability).

Specific knowledge of by-laws was also mentioned, including non-zoning by-laws such as earth removal, local wetlands control, junk cars; hazardous waste; pesticide use; and local health regulations relating to septic systems and their relation to the state "title 5" code.

Knowledge of zoning, predictably, accounted for several responses, including knowing zoning options and limitations

under state zoning law (emphasizing the environmental protection aspects of this), including floodplains, wetlands, farmland, aquifer protection); state-level environmental laws, especially regarding wetlands; environmental impact reports; programs to protect farm/forest lands and open space by reducing taxes and providing funds for purchase; endangered species protection; clean water; and knowing what their town will be like, given a full implementation of current by-laws and subdivision regulations.

Political concerns were also manifest. Respondents were concerned that citizens know the intent and perceived impact of [a proposed] by-law; limits on town ability to implement planning--no central planning authority, no enforceable legal requirement for planning, no requirement that development regulations be consistent with town plan, grandfathering. Citizens advocating by-las should prepare simple fact sheets that can be understood by citizens about [a proposed] by-law, and citizens receiving by-law proposals should know the background of individuals/business that is promoting or fighting [a proposed] by-law. Citizens should also know the record of enforcement of regulations by town bodies, as well as knowing about and insisting on a rigorous permitting process.

Quality of life through appropriate by-laws was also mentioned, specifically the importance of passing [a proposed] by-law, i.e. zoning laws, in order to maintain the

integrity/quality of life in the community, and environmental issues related to quality of life, along with whatever steps are necessary to protect them.

Knowledge of town process, functions and resources, excluding zoning, fiscal (19 responses). Eleven respondents included items which fall into this category; two had four such responses, two had two, and the rest had one each.

Several respondents listed a general awareness of town resources, including town staffing levels and resources and knowledge of where to go, and resources (people and agencies) available, for assistance, along with a willingness to ask.

The importance of citizens' knowing their places in town processes was mentioned frequently, including knowing the attitudes of townspeople on issues being addressed; understanding the mood of the town as to what kind of place the community was, is, and wants to be in the future; understanding the process for building consensus within the community and how town committees work, and how this relates to getting things through Town Meeting; and the basics of how local governments work and the responsibilities of the residents of that community (to vote, participate in Town Meeting, etc.).

Legal obligations were another major point. Citizens were asked to know the relationship between sources of municipal funds and the multitude of public services local

governments must (e.g. police, fire) vs. may provide (e.g. stellar schools, open space/recreation facilities); the legal requirements of town officials (especially regarding the enforcement of zoning by-laws, etc.); the phone number of town counsel; and laws implemented by each board.

Many respondents listed other specific items of knowledge, including knowledge of any town plan to create, or to limit, infrastructure such as public sewers, water, and/or new roads; local health regulations relating to septic systems and their relation to the state "title 5" code; non-zoning by-laws such as those covering earth removal, local wetlands control, and junk cars; an understanding of community economic systems, groundwater areas, and other enviro-economic background; and the functions of farming in open space management and in the local economy.

Other points included knowing what their town will be like in various ways, given a full implementation of current by-laws and subdivision regulations; knowledge of state-level environmental laws, especially regarding wetlands; environmental impact reports; programs to protect farm/forest lands and open space by reducing taxes and providing funds for purchase; endangered species protection; clean water; and that it is not possible to eliminate development, but we can use it to our advantage.

Zoning (12 responses). Citizen knowledge about zoning (as opposed to general planning knowledge) was included by eight respondents. Of course, the category of "existing planning tools" above includes zoning; these respondents noted zoning by name, in various perspectives. In this context, it seems interesting that not all respondents included comments specific to zoning.

One respondent noted in three separate responses some negative aspects of zoning: 1) Zoning does not necessarily protect the character of citizens' towns; 2) large-lot zoning doesn't protect open space; 3) there is a difference between zoning and planning. This last point was echoed by another respondent: "Zoning is not planning, and planning is not zoning."

Zoning as a tool for implementing a communities vision of its future self (perhaps the best use of zoning) was mentioned by several respondents:

- The idea of designing for a maximum population establishing short- and long-range goals with respect to the future quality of life in the town and promulgating zoning, etc. toward the desired goals;
- what the town will look like when the current zoning is fully implemented: all meadows and fields divided into houselots and all highway frontage lined with roadside commerce, plastic signs and roadside parking lots;

· the importance of passing [a proposed] by-law, i.e. zoning laws, in order to maintain the integrity/quality of life in the community;

· how to change present zoning so that new development will be more appropriately located and designed; the tools are at hand and not terribly difficult to implement.

Another respondent noted that citizens should be aware of the existing town zoning code and map and zoning options and limitations under state zoning law (emphasizing environmental protection), including floodplains, wetlands, farmland, and aquifer protection.

One respondent said that citizens should know the legal requirements of town officials, including the official's responsibilities to know and enforce zoning by-laws.

Citizen participation and involvement (11 responses). Six respondents identified citizen participation or involvement in town affairs as important.

One respondent noted several modes of participation, advocating their regular use: 1) Citizens should know avenues for activity and be active; 2) citizens should act as watchdogs regarding local boards; 3) citizens should know how open town boards are and insist on open meetings; 4) citizens should know the record of the enforcement of regulations.

Two respondents wrote of the relationship of the individual to the community, one writing that citizens should have an understanding of the process for building consensus within the community, how town committees work, and how this relates to getting things through Town Meeting, the other writing that citizens should know the basics of how local governments work and the responsibilities of the residents of that community (to vote, participate in Town Meeting, etc.).

One respondent noted that certain skills were necessary for effective participation, those including good bylaw writing skills (e.g., that make for easy enforceability) and good political skills, e.g., oratory.

One respondent advocated greater planner-citizen cooperation and communication with planners regularly questioning the public as to their perspectives and opinions.

One respondent voiced the opinion that Town Meeting as currently constructed is ill-suited to informed discussion.

One respondent simply noted that citizens' input matters and can have a positive effect.

Budget and fiscal (10 responses). Eight respondents included items which incorporated budgetary and fiscal concerns.

This was a major concern of one respondent, who identified several complex issues, including 1) the

relationship between sources of municipal funds and the multitude of public services local governments must (e.g. police, fire) vs. may provide (e.g. stellar schools, open space/recreation facilities); 2) severe fiscal austerity and its impact on having communities join forces with their neighbors (e.g. provision of joint municipal service/consolidation); and 3) the explosion of human service needs at the local level which government is expected to address.

Three respondents noted the costs to the town of various kinds of growth, including residential growth (especially if rapid and without accompanying non-residential growth) and the loss of open space.

Two respondents commented on the need for citizens to have budgeting skills (knowledge of cherry-sheet formulas, etc.) and general municipal budget and finance issues.

One respondent voiced the opinion that since "the real estate tax is the bedrock of town finance; it follows that the foundation of all community planning is land use planning."

Another respondent stressed the need for an general understanding of community economic systems, groundwater areas, and other enviro-economic background.

Environmental protection (10 responses). Four respondents included items in this category.

One stated simply that environmental impact must be a part of every decision. Another mentioned implications associated with the removal of prime farmland from production, which I assume to include environmental protection.

A third respondent included environmental protection in three responses, including zoning options and limitations under state zoning law (emphasizing the environmental protection aspects). Also mentioned were state-level environmental protection laws, especially regarding wetlands; environmental impact reports; programs to protect farm/forest lands and open space by reducing taxes and providing funds for purchase; endangered species protection; and clean water. Non-zoning by-laws such as earth removal, local wetlands control, junk cars rounded out this respondent's concerns with this category.

A fourth respondent identified as necessary a master plan or other planning devices for environmental protection, especially groundwater; citizen knowledge of environmental issues related to quality of life along with the steps necessary to protect them; water quality protection; and citizen knowledge about hazardous waste and pesticide use.

Wetlands and water (7 responses). Three respondents included items under this category; one of these stressed the general point in four different responses, another in two.

One respondent noted that citizens should have an understanding of community economic systems, groundwater areas, and other enviro-economic background.

Another said citizens should know zoning options and limitations under state zoning law (emphasizing the environmental protection aspects of this, including floodplains, wetlands, and aquifer protection), along with state-level environmental laws, especially regarding wetlands and clean water. Citizens should also know of any town plan to create, or to limit, infrastructure such as public sewers or water services, as well as being aware of non-zoning by-laws such as local wetlands control.

A third respondent noted the importance of a master plan or other planning devices for environmental protection, especially in relation to groundwater and other water quality protection.

Long-term planning (6 responses). Six people included responses which fall within this category.

One advocated the idea of designing for a maximum population establishing short- and long-range goals with respect to the future quality of life in the town and promulgating zoning, etc. toward the desired goals.

Three simply cited long-term concerns and the vision of long-term planning, and that citizens should know about and insist on long-term planning.

Two noted that there is a difference between zoning and planning.

Open space and recreation (6 responses). Five respondents included this category in their answers.

Surprisingly, most of the comments centered on the financial aspects of open space. The aesthetic and environmental protection aspects of open space seem to have been generally assumed by the respondents.

One respondent noted the functions of farming in open space management and in the local economy, as well as the functions (benefits) provided by community gathering and recreation spaces (parks, swimming pools, etc.).

Another noted that development of open space results in a net cost to taxpayer.

A third wrote that open space preservation is not mandatory for towns. Underfunding might result given the relationship between sources of municipal funds and the multitude of public services local governments must (e.g. police, fire) vs. may provide (e.g. stellar schools, open space/recreation facilities).

A fourth noted the importance of knowing state-level environmental laws, especially regarding programs to protect open space by reducing taxes and providing funds for purchase.

A fifth pointed out that large-lot zoning doesn't protect open space.

Regionalization (6 responses). Five respondents listed regionalization as an important point.

First, regional cooperation was noted as necessary, especially in regard to state action mandating a framework for town planning.

A second respondent asserted the critical importance of local- and regional-level planning to maintain a high quality of life and small town character: planning is not a luxury. Also, the effects of severe fiscal austerity was noted, together with its impact on having communities join forces with their neighbors (e.g. provision of joint municipal service/consolidation).

A third respondent noted the beneficial effects of the regionalization of town services (including emergency services, planning, solid waste, transportation, schools, etc.).

Two respondents placed regionalization within a broad, philosophical framework, one stating that we, as citizens, must think not only of ourselves and our personal property but realize that we are part of a commons, the other stressing the importance of a knowledge of our community's place in the bioregion.

Aesthetics (5 responses). Four respondents named aesthetics as an important concern; three of these had some connection to the Center for Rural Massachusetts at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst.

One thought that citizens should know what the town will look like when the current zoning is fully implemented: all meadows and fields divided into houselots and all highway frontage lined with roadside commerce, plastic signs and roadside parking lots, and, appropriate to that, how to change present zoning so that new development will be more appropriately located and designed.

Also, one of the implications associated with the removal of prime farmland from production is an aesthetic one; I believe this was implied by the respondent in this response.

Another respondent mentioned that citizens should have an understanding of the mood of the town as to what kind of place the community was, is, and wants to be in the future. Presumably this includes the aesthetic dimension.

A third respondent noted that "affordable," a major concern of housing planners, does not have to mean "ugly."

Citizen skills (4 responses). Three respondents listed various citizen skills as important. Budgeting, by-law writing, and political skills such as oratory were mentioned as being appropriate, as well as knowledge of how to change present zoning so that new development will be more appropriately located and designed; the tools being at hand and not terribly difficult to implement.

Farmland preservation (4 responses). Farmland was mentioned by three respondents. First, the aspects of zoning options and limitations under state zoning law (emphasizing the environmental protection aspects of this), including farmland protection, were mentioned. This respondent also mentioned farmland in connection with state-level environmental laws, including programs to protect farm/forest lands and open space by reducing taxes and providing funds for purchase.

A second respondent stressed that citizens should have a knowledge of the implications associated with the removal of prime farmland from production.

A third respondent noted that citizens should be aware of the functions of farming in open space management and in the local economy.

Recycling and waste (3 responses). Two respondents included this category. It was mentioned by one in connection with regionalization of town services and by the other first, on its own, and second, in connection with hazardous waste (and therefore environmental protection).

Environmental ethics (1 response). Only one respondent included this point; that citizens should know and adopt an environmental ethic.

Public-private cooperation (1 response). This category was derived from the responses primarily because of its significance both in the literature and within public policy. Only one respondent included this point.

CHAPTER V

TOWN PROFILES: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

The two towns studied are small, rural towns in the Berkshire mountain range of Massachusetts, west of the Connecticut River valley. Each has a population of just over one thousand; more detailed descriptions, including census data, may be found below.

I selected the towns in which to work using several criteria. First, I wanted to work with towns which had open Town Meetings; this would assure participants of a reasonable expectation of having the town as a whole consider and act on any specific results of the meetings, if the participants so desired.

Second, I chose two towns with similar geographical and environmental characteristics, and therefore similar land use problems, but dissimilar social characters to help answer the question, how do two socially dissimilar towns cope with similar planning problems?

I also wanted to find towns which had a previously developed consciousness of development problems, especially fiscal limitations, so that discussions could center on creative solutions to development and fiscal pressures rather than merely debating their existence.

The two towns I chose, which I will call Old Mills and Shays Town in honor of their respective histories and the

confidentiality of the participants, suit these criteria well. They both have open Town Meetings; they are contiguous and exhibit a geographical similarity; and in 1991 they both voted to default on certain loan payments to send a signal to state government that local financial burdens were extremely heavy (Stoddard, 1991).

They are dissimilar in that of the population registered to vote by party, Old Mills has a preponderance of registered Republicans and Shays Town has a preponderance of registered Democrats; furthermore, Old Mills, as a town, is widely perceived as both less wealthy and more working-class than Shays Town.

General Geographic Background

The two towns, Old Mills and Shays Town, lie in the Berkshire Mountains of northwestern Massachusetts. They share a common border and surface geography, hilly with many small streams converging into small but agriculturally productive valleys. Old Mills has the advantage of being situated on the Deerfield River, a fairly large tributary to the Connecticut River running along one of its borders, which provides some electrical power. The commercial center of the town of Old Mills is adjacent to the commercial center of another adjacent town; the result of this is an informal village which exists in two towns. I will refer to this village as Pocumtuck.

The surface geography has been formed over the last ten thousand years and reflects the history of the rest of New England. The retreating glaciers of the last Ice Age melted and deposited their loads of rock, gravel, sand and soil onto the scraped bedrock, and a forest of mixed hardwoods, including both deciduous and coniferous trees, grew on the slopes and in the valleys.

The landscape changed dramatically with the coming of European settlers. The area was completely deforested for the immediate economic benefits of lumber and pasture; no virgin forest remains in this area. Streams were dammed and mills built, further changing the landscape.

Today, both towns are mostly undeveloped; large sections of land have reverted to a mixed forest from a previous state of agriculture and pastoral activity, though some pasture remains for the dwindling dairy industry.

Each town has several distinct villages or remnants of village centers, reflecting a traditionally decentralized New England development pattern (Yaro, Arendt, Dodson & Brabec, 1989). This development pattern seems to have been changing slowly but steadily, perhaps due to the introduction of the automobile, which facilitates personal transportation to a degree which makes village centers less necessary for the conduct of daily business.

Town Political Structures

These hilltowns (as opposed to the valley towns along the Connecticut River) are typically politically independent, not following any ready-made political ideology but deciding each issue according to the local circumstances. This independence is readily perceptible in voter party registration patterns: In 1990, Old Mills had about 1100 voters; 152 were registered as Democrats, 182 as Republicans, and 809 as unaffiliated. Shays Town, at the same time and with a population of about one thousand, had 217 registered Democrats, 177 registered Republicans, and 643 unaffiliated[1] voters (Information Publications, 1991).

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (1979) notes that "it is at the local level--the government "closest to the people"--that citizen participation is most prevalent and significant" and goes on to state in regard to participation in the local budget process:

> Perhaps the brightest spot in budget participation is the experience of localities (particularly in New England) having the town meeting form of government. Eighty-six percent of these localities reported "a great deal" or "a moderate amount" of citizen participation in the local budget process, compared to 49% for the next highest reporting category of local government (council-manager communities) (pp. 8-9).

This should come as no surprise to those of us familiar with the Town Meeting form of government and its occasional

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[1] Since the establishment of the Massachusetts Independent Voters Party, voters who normally would be described as "independent" are described as "unaffiliated."

"hot" issues. See Chapter Seven for a fuller discussion of participation in local governance and general barriers to participation.

The origins of the Town Meeting-Selectmen form of government found in these two towns, and typical of New England, is disputed. There are two basic theories: First, that this form of self-government was an entirely ad hoc, secular invention, new and untried, and second, that the Congregational Church was instrumental in facilitating the development of Town Meetings. Whatever the ultimate origins, the independent spirit of the Reformation certainly provided fertile ground for political independence (Worcester, 1925).

Both town have what is referred to as a Town Meeting-Selectmen form of government, meaning that all citizens of voting age may gather once a year to act as a legislative body, passing local ordinances and regulations and debating and voting on a town budget (thereby also voting on their own tax rate). This has been called "a more deep-rooted tradition of direct citizen involvement in governance than most other democracies" (Rosenbaum, 1976, p. 5).

Business in Town Meeting is limited to action on articles contained within a warrant; articles may be submitted by town officials or by citizens' petition. The content of the articles is not limited, but the warrant, after the close of Town Meeting, must be approved by the state Attorney General before the actions taken become law.

The annual Town Meeting in both towns is completed in one full day; in Shays Town, the first Saturday in May; in Old Mills, the Wednesday after the Selectmen's election on the first Monday in May. Special Town Meetings may also be called upon petition of a sufficient number of registered voters of the town; these are used sparingly to decide major town issues during the course of the year. One of the current major uses of Special Town Meetings is to decide funding questions which would raise the town property taxes above the state-imposed limit of two and one-half percent per year, the result of the state law called "Proposition 2 1/2" in which citizens of the state gave up the right of citizens in towns to decide their own finances independent of state regulation.

The elected Board of Selectmen is an executive board, much like the town or city council of the rest of the country. It has the power and responsibility to conduct the daily business of the town but does not have the power to enact ordinances, that being given to Town Meeting. In Shays Town, Town Meeting also functions as the site for the election (by secret ballot) of town officers. Citizens elected to the Board of Selectmen are provided only with a small stipend; in Old Mills, the stipend is fifteen hundred dollars per year. In Shays Town the regular stipend is eight hundred dollars, the chair receives one thousand.

Citizens also participate in the executive branch of town business through membership on town boards and

committees (both referred to below simply as "boards"). Town boards, including those most related to this study such as planning, conservation, and health, consist of citizens who accept appointment from the (elected) Board of Selectmen and carry out the duties of their respective jurisdictions. They typically report to Town Meeting annually and depend on that body's action to change local regulations. These boards are the focus of citizen participation when Town Meeting is not in session.

Almost all of the towns' revenues from their own sources come from taxes on property. The towns are similar in terms of the amount of their property valuations. In 1990, the total property valuation of Old Mills was $95,741,690; Shays Town had a total property valuation of $102,917,286 (Massachusetts Municipal Profiles, 1991). Though this might be taken as a sign of fiscal equality, it must be remembered that Shays Town's lower population signals a correspondingly higher per capita wealth.

Shays Town

Early History

Shays Town was settled about 1745 after the land was granted to holders of forty-six-year-old letters of credit from the state of Massachusetts; these had been given in lieu of pay to soldiers who fought in King William's War against the French in 1690. The town's original name was Huntstown (Shepard, 1834).

The town was officially incorporated as Shays Town in 1765. A passage from Shepard yields a note of particular interest:

> The subject of common schools began early to engage the attention of the fathers of this town. They seemed fully to understand the orthodox doctrine--that a free government can only be sustained by an intelligent population...(p. 23).

Shays Town was predominantly a patriot town during the American revolution, having only nine Tories to 65 patriots. It did, however, hedge its political bets by beginning its "articles of covenant," declaring its intention to fight British oppression, with a statement that "we profess ourselves subject to our Sovereign Lord the King, (holding) ourselves in duty bound to yield obedience to all his good and wholesome laws" before lashing out at Parliament, declaring an embargo against British goods, stating their desire to join with other revolutionaries, and providing for the town to subsidize the purchase of ammunition "and other necessities" (Shepard, 1834, pp. 24-27).

During the time of Shay's Rebellion, after the American Revolution, Shays Town was strongly in favor of the rebels. The majority of the Selectmen voted first, not to collect the portion of the State tax assigned them, and second, to give the munitions magazine of the town to the rebels. Several citizens who were suspected of harboring counter-rebellion sentiments were forcibly detained for a short period (Shepard, 1834).

Shays Town's population has remained fairly stable over its middle and later history; for instance, it had a population of 1732 in 1830, 17 more people than in 1990, 160 years later.

Comparison of 1980 and 1990 United States Census data

During these ten years, the social face of Shays Town changed, in some cases considerably. Following are some US Census statistics for the town obtained through the Massachusetts Institute for Social and Economic Research (1991) (MISER) regarding social, labor force, income, and housing characteristics. All figures are rounded to the nearest percentage point unless otherwise indicated.

The total population of Shays Town rose by almost 18%, from 1,458 in 1980 to 1,715 in 1990. Perhaps the single most striking figure within this part of the study is that of the loss in farm population, which during the same time decreased by 59%. This reflects a similarly striking 31% drop in total employment in farming and forestry (see below for more figures for occupation). These figures support the common impression in town that farms are losing their historic place in the town, though the great extent might prove surprising even to those who are aware of the general trend.

The percentage of children enrolled in school changed by only .1%, though the distribution shows almost double the percentage in preprimary school and 11% fewer in elementary

and high school. The number of college enrollees was up 30%. In the category of educational attainment, there was a major gain--37%--in the percentage of townspeople with four or more years of higher education.

There was good news for Shays Town in the labor status figures, which registered just a .1% rise in the total labor force. Unemployment was down by 37% among males 16 and over and down 14% among women 16 and over. The number of employed people 16 or over grew by 12%; though government employment was down, private wage and salary employment was up by 28%.

Changes which are significant in terms of community development can be seen in the figures for changes in people's occupations. There was a 152% rise in the percentage of white collar workers, or those within the census category of "executive, administrative, managerial." This is a rise from 40 to 116 people, or from 2.7 to 6.8 percent of the 1980 and 1990 populations. There was an 18% rise in those with a "professional specialty," from 162 to 225 people.

Growth was also seen in people working in precision production, crafts, and repair businesses, which showed a 19% rise (from 97 to 137 people), the service sector, with an 11% gain (from 82 to 108 people), in "handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers and laborers," up 19% (from 24 to 32 people), and in technical employment, up 17% (from 17 to 24 people).

Losses were seen in sales employment, down 9% (from 48 to 52 people; the loss comes in comparing these figures to the total populations in 1980 and 1990), machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors, down 19% (from 70 to 67 people), and, as mentioned before, in farming, forestry and fishing, down 31% (from 72 to 59 people).

The Long-Range Planning Committee and its work

In 1985, the planning board of Shays Town established a Long-Range Planning Committee. Its purposes were:

> ...to study the future needs of the town and make recommendations for managing growth. The areas identified by the Planning Board to be investigated by the Committee were: citizen attitudes, future housing needs, businesses and commercial growth, parks and natural resources, municipal services, balancing preservation and growth.

Citizen attitudes were examined via a questionnaire; detailed results were not included in the final report of the Committee, but it was noted that "the questionnaire responses indicated a strong desire by [Shays Town] residents to control growth and protect the natural, historic, and cultural characteristics of the town as they currently exist."

The Long-Range Planning Committee identified over fifty problems and issues to be addressed by the town. Most of them are similar to those faced by other small towns, such as pollution, the management of open space, the protection of natural resources, infrastructure, etc. The

recommendations regarding these issues represent some of the most progressive planning and techniques available, such as cluster zoning, site plan review, performance standards, aquifer recharge area protection, flood plain zoning, and other growth management techniques; the possibility of a "scenic mountains Act;" identifying desirable and undesirable businesses and creating a "business/commercial zone;" monitoring cottage industries for pollution; and working with other local public and private groups to coordinate their efforts. The document is thus a tool of potentially great value to other towns wishing to tackle these problems.

The results of the Committee's investigations were presented to the Planning Board and translated into by-law proposals for Town Meeting. As of the annual Town Meeting in 1992, the article incorporating these proposals failed to achieve a two-thirds majority, required to pass planning legislation, but it did receive more than a majority vote. It will probably be brought up for action again.

Several people mentioned the work of this committee directly in their survey responses; the impact of the work of the committee was evident in many of the answers, which included various comments on the need for long term planning (see Chapter Eight).

Old Mills

Early History

The Town of Old Mills arose as settlers between the previously settled town of Shays Town to its south and another town to its north. Grants of land were made over time to various individuals for various reasons, including recompense for land lost elsewhere in Massachusetts, improvements made beyond property boundaries, and military service (Kendrick, 1937).

A document known as the Pocumtuck Deed, signed by many Pocumtuck Indians just after the decisive King Philip's War, gives a good deal of land, including what was to become Old Mills, to the English. The first settlement is recorded to have been in 1742, well after settlement in the surrounding towns. The area was known as No Town until it was incorporated as Old Mills in 1779, named, ironically, after an English lord at the height of the American Revolution (Kendrick, 1937).

The Historical Records Survey (1940) cites Kendrick (1937) as stating that the town played no part in Shay's Rebellion, but Kendrick merely notes that there are no records of such involvement, and includes a centennial speech which refers to several people from Old Mills having participated in Shay's march on Springfield (p. 218).

An account of property in town in 1785 gives an idea of the local economy. There were recorded thirteen dwellings, seventeen barns, two mills, fifty-six horses, 136 pigs, 120

cows, and 197 cattle and oxen (Kendrick, 1937). It seems difficult to reconcile the number of dwellings with a record of a population of 718 five years later, though.

Regardless of the accounting for dwellings, Old Mills's population did grow quite rapidly after the Revolution, being recorded at 718 in 1790, 1,097 in 1810 and 1,702 in 1860. The latter figure reflects the introduction of rail service to the town. After that, Old Mills's population hovered around 1,500 until the past few decades, over which time it lost almost half its population (881 in 1980) until growing to its current size (about 1,032) (Historical Records Survey, 1940; MISER, 1991).

In 1876, three years before its centennial, Old Mills suffered a large fire which destroyed almost all town records. This leaves Kendrick (1937) as the major researcher and chronicler of early Old Mills history.

Comparison of 1980 and 1990 United States Census data

During these ten years, the statistics showing Old Mills's socio-economic situation changed much less than Shays Town. Following are some relevant figures, all from MISER (1991); as in the case of Shays Town, all figures are rounded to the nearest percentage point unless otherwise indicated.

The total population of Old Mills rose by 17%, almost the same as Shays Town (at 18%), from 881 in 1980 to 1,032 in 1990. There was a less dramatic loss than in Shays Town

in farm population, however, which decreased by 32%, from 44 to 31 people (compared with Shays Town's 59%). Also unlike Shays Town, total employment in farming and forestry actually registered a slight increase during this period.

The percentage of children enrolled in school and college showed a loss of 14%; the distribution shows a great loss in the preprimary, elementary and high school population (43%) and a gain in college enrollments, up 54%. The percentage of townspeople with four or more years of higher education almost doubled (up 95%), with 16.6% in that category in 1990 versus 8.5% in 1980.

There was a ten per cent rise in the labor force in Old Mills during these ten years, from 47% of the total population (881 out of 1,864) to 57% (1,102 out of 1,928). Unemployment was down by 27% among males 16 and over but rose 24% among women 16 and over; the number of employed people 16 or over in the labor force grew by 18%. Overall government employment was up 6%, with slightly more federal and state employees (totalling 34% of government employment in town in 1980 and 37% in 1990) and slightly fewer local government employees. Private wage and salary employment was up by 13%.

There was a telling 102% rise in the percentage of white collar workers, or those within the census category of "executive, administrative, managerial," though it is less than Shays Town's 152%. This represents a rise from 49 to 117 people, or from 2.6 to 6.1 per cent of the 1980 and 1990

populations. There was a 10% increase in those with a "professional specialty," from 126 to 163 people.

Other growth was seen mainly in sales in Old Mills, which registered a 48% gain (from 55 to 95 people employed in this sector). Other growth areas (protective service, transportation, technical, farming, private household, and administrative support/clerical) accounted for only 57 more jobs. The combined categories of farming, forestry, and fisheries grew only .7%, from 39 to 46 jobs.

Losses were seen in general labor, down 46% (from 33 to 21 people), machine work, down 25% (from 128 to 112), precision production and repair, down 19% (144 to 138 people) and service occupations, down 1% (from 100 to 117 people).

The Clesson Brook Valley study

In 1990, Conway Design Associates (including Walt Cudnohufsky, principal investigator, and Eric Weber, project planner) was hired by the Old Mills Planning Board to study the pattern of development in the valley of the Clesson Brook, the major stream running through the center of the town. The goal of the project was to identify and "recommend actions that the town and landowners can take to preserve the valley's special character" (Conway Design Associates, 1990, p. 1).

In a frustrating development consistent with the problems of working with a variety of part-time and

volunteer workers in a small town, I did not learn about the Clesson Brook Valley study until quite late in my involvement with the town, too late to include a question about people's involvement with that project in my survey.

Citizen participation was a significant part of the process of the study in two ways. First, a steering committee was formed of interested town citizens to oversee the process of the development of the report. Unfortunately, the results of the deliberations of the special committee were not published along with the report. Second, two well-attended, open workshops were held, but, also unfortunately, there is no written record of the proceedings.

The open meetings were held in March and May of 1990. Landowners living within the study's geographic area of interest (the Clesson Brook Valley) were specially targeted for publicity. Publicity for the meetings was also geared specifically toward the subject of land use planning and zoning; this served as a "hot button," participants feeling that their rights as land owners were likely to be threatened by the results of the meetings. When people arrived at the meeting, though, they were immediately drawn into the process through a survey to be completed before the meeting began. The survey served to defused the hostile feelings of participants, for the most part, by asking them directly about their interests, thus communicating to them from the beginning that their interests were going to be

addressed explicitly (E. Weber, personal communication, 11/6/92).

It is conceivable that instead of such participation serving to whet the appetites of the citizens for more involvement in community issues, a level of saturation of interest was reached so that the curiosity of those who might have participated in this current study was not sufficiently piqued for them to attend the meetings. Also, as the Clesson Brook Valley project was oriented toward zoning within a specific area of town (as well as planning in general), a provocative and controversial topic, there was more of an incentive for particular interested citizens to attend than for the general citizen to attend meetings on the broad topic of community development or the future of the town.

CHAPTER VI

RECENT PLANNING RECORDS

Introduction

The first part of this triangulated (three-part) study of citizen participation in planning in Old Mills and Shays Town is the analysis of the recent minutes of the Planning Boards of the two towns.

Planning Boards are composed of citizens appointed by the elected Board of Selectmen. Thus, the very existence of such a Board is an example of citizen participation. The function of the Planning Board is to administer the town's planning by-laws; the majority of the work of a town Planning Board is reactive; to review proposals for development to ensure that they are consistent with the Town's by-laws. (The state legislation enabling planning boards to act may be found in the Massachusetts General Laws Chapter 41, section 81, A-J.)

Another function of the Planning Board is proactive, to create a master or comprehensive plan, detailing the inventory of natural and cultural features of the town and assigning relative values to these features, along with proposing a development path for the town so that development proposals may be judged by their consistency with the master plan as well as the by-laws. Reactive work seems to be more prevalent, probably due both to the

immediacy (and the workload) of proposal review and the cost and increased level of skills and knowledge necessary for creating a master plan, which may require expensive resources from outside of the town.

This chapter analyses the kinds of issues, and their relative frequencies, considered in the recent past by the Planning Boards of Old Mills and Shays Town and compares them to the categories derived from the survey of professionals in Chapter Four. The records of Old Mills were difficult to locate; the only records I received after repeated requests of both the Town Clerk and the Planning Board were planning board minutes (and in one case, an agenda) of meetings from March 14, 1989 to February, 1992; even these are incomplete. Though I received a complete set of minutes from Shays Town from 1986, I analyzed only those within the same time period of Old Mills to aid in comparison. The volume of material in the Shays Town minutes is roughly ten times that of the material in the Old Mills minutes.

There are two topics which occur regularly in the minutes but are not included as items within categories. The first is announcements of coming events. Excepted from this deletion are announcements concerning special permits, which are included as these may be seen as a form of public announcement for special permit public hearings required by law. The second is the acceptance of minutes. Both of these would naturally fall under the new category of

internal affairs (derived from this analysis rather than the professionals' survey). However, as each of these items appeared pro forma rather than out of a business concern within the planning boards, they are not counted as items in that new category. Thus, neither of those new categories is given extra weight by the inclusion of these formal procedures.

Also, as the purpose of this study is to discover citizen concerns, the participation of citizens in the business of the planning boards is not in itself counted as an item under the category of citizen participation; only the topic of citizen participation, raised as a concern of business, is so counted.

The main categories of suggested citizen competence in professional judgement, from Chapter Four, are: 1) General and context awareness and understanding; 2) knowledge of existing state and local planning tools; 3) sense of community/quality of life/democracy; 4) by-laws; 5) knowledge of town process, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning, fiscal; 6) zoning; 7) citizen participation/ involvement; 8) budget and fiscal; 9) environmental protection; 10) water and wetlands; 11) long-term planning; 12) open space; 13) regionalization; 14) aesthetics; 15) citizen skills; 16) farmland preservation; 17) recycling and waste; 18) environmental ethics; and 19) public-private cooperation.

To these may be added five new categories; transportation-related items (20), internal board affairs (21), media (22), community education (23), and intergovernmental affairs (24), derived from topics discussed at planning board meetings.

Old Mills

Unsurprisingly, the category with the largest number of items was category 2, knowledge of existing planning tools. Also included here are instances of the need for further knowledge about planning procedures). This was taken to include dealings between the planning board and other Town boards and officials. Due to the relatively large number of items, this category has been broken down into subcategories; necessary intra-Town affairs, the "approval not required" (ANR) process for dividing land without plans for improving it, and other items.

There were 25 items under this category. 13 had to do with intra-Town affairs, including the Board of Selectmen, the Town Engineer, the Finance Committee, the Building Inspector, Town Counsel, and Town Meeting. Most of these items of concern were raised due to one particular proposed development in town; there was a complex of questions over a period of time about the adequacy of a road and a bridge and jurisdictional, definitional and legal matters.

There were also general questions about the procedure for determining the status of roads (see the next category

for a fuller treatment of roads). Some Town roads were discontinued (the Town removed itself from responsibility for their maintenance), and Town roads in general were thought to be in need of substantial repair. Additionally, the adequacy of access to a proposed development is assessed to determine whether or not the proposed development will be treated as a subdivision; if the way is not adequate, the development will be a subdivision and it will be the responsibility of the developer to bring the way up to Town standards.

Also in this category, there were seven items concerning plans for ANR proposals, two mentions of public safety and three legal questions (the last two subcategories both having to do with the controversial proposed development).

The new category of transportation-related items (20) arose because of the large number of items concerning Town roads; eighteen instances of this topic were found. Almost all of these had to do with the condition of Town roads or their adequacy for the purpose of the determination of subdivision status; many of these questions came up as a direct result of one proposed development. One very interesting exception entails citizen participation; the planning board considered inviting elder, long-time residents of the town to help identify old roads.

Citizen participation (category 7) was seen not only in that case, but also in seven other instances, several of

which involved the Clesson Brook Valley Project mentioned in Chapter Five. Beyond that, the planning board was involved in an effort to educate citizens through the local cable television station about the board's function and to increase awareness of proposed zoning changes (see below).

Internal board affairs, the new category 21, included seven items: Procedure was an issue in three (for site visits, the waiving of regulations and plan approval); others included scheduling, elections, and an landscape architecture award for the Clesson Brook Valley study.

Six items came within the category of bylaws (4); two of these had to do with roads. Three came within the new category of intergovernmental affairs, one at the county level, concerning a Town Meeting warrant article, and two at the federal level (dealing with floodplain maps from the Federal Emergency Management Administration).

There were three routine items within category 8, budgetary matters; just two about zoning (category 6); two about water protection (category 10), and the two items mentioned above concerning community education for citizen participation through the local cable station, which have been placed both within the new category of media (24) and the new category of community education (25).

The support of local agriculture, which may be placed under category 16, farmland preservation, was mentioned only once.

Shays Town

Again, the category which included the greatest number of items, by far, was category 2, knowledge of existing planning tools. Several items appeared at almost every meeting, mainly having to do with special permits (for new business uses of existing property), and the ANR process. There were a total of 144 items under this category.

Because of the broad spectrum of concerns within this category, sub-categories were used in treating the topic. These include special permits, ANR plans, subdivisions, driveways, and other.

87 items concerned special permits. There was a large variety of proposed new businesses, including day care, consultancy, several crafts, mail order car parts, real estate, home publishing, pet hospitality and grooming, acupressure, and others. Every special permit also requires a public hearing, and announcements and enactments of these were included within this category. Because of the degree of specialty of the topic, these public hearings were not interpreted as items of concern regarding of citizen participation; however, the several hearings on topics of town-wide concern are included within the category of citizen participation.

There were 31 instances of ANR items in the meetings. Not all of these resulted in new divisions of land; some were requests for information, some questions of procedure and fees. One involved the creation of open space for the

town. The great majority, however, were divisions (and sometimes subsequent transfers) of private land.

Discussions of subdivisions arose nine times; four of these had to do with road quality.

There were also nine occurrences of discussions about driveways; five of these had to do with driveways common to more than one dwelling, which were, at the time of the discussions, prohibited by local bylaws. The topic of a master plan came up three times, as did growth management. Sign rules were mentioned twice, and plot boundaries once.

The category next most frequently seen was category 5, knowledge of town processes, functions and resources (excluding planning, zoning, and fiscal, or categories 2, 6 and 8).

There were 118 occurrences of items within this category, and many of these involved more than one category; for Shays Town, this category was the most complex to analyze. 88 items had to do with intra-Town relations; 18 with questions of jurisdiction; 10 with legal matters other than jurisdiction, and two with Town Meeting. Because of multiple categories occurring within some items, the total of the items in the next paragraph will exceed 88.

Within this subcategory of intra-Town relations, the building inspector was mentioned twenty-six times (often having to do with jurisdiction); the town library, fifteen times; the Board of Selectmen, fourteen times; town counsel, ten times; the Zoning Board of Appeals, seven times; public

safety, four times; the proposed new Town salt shed, four times; the Conservation Commission, three times; the Town report, three times. Legal questions other than those having to do with Town counsel appeared twice. Once, several other boards met with the planning board in a particularly complicated case involving zoning, health and a special permit application. The town historical commission was also mentioned once.

Out of the 18 jurisdictional matters, ten had to do with the building inspector and two had to do with the Board of Selectmen.

Regarding legal matters, one was especially notable; one had to do with a town attorney whose firm also represented a client doing business with the town, and there were strong statements made about conflict of interest.

Town Meeting came up twice, both times in the context of passing the revised planning by-laws.

A new category (23), internal affairs, resulted from the number of concerns of business relating strictly to the functioning of the planning board. 71 items were found within this category. Most of these, 42, involved the sub-category of organizational issues; topics brought up more than once included membership, election of officers, records, rules, and internal committees (including the by-law review committee and a proposed subdivision review committee).

The second major sub-category was procedure, which accounted for 23 items. This included all questions regarding steps necessary to fulfil the planning board's role appropriately and legally.

Another major occurrence was recusement, or the temporary leave from the board for reason of conflict of interest, which was necessary for various reasons in six cases during this period of time.

The category of bylaws (four) included 67 items. 39 of these were due to the planning board's sponsorship of a process of bylaw revision, dealing with both the substance and the process of that task.

Other instances of the category were generally simply references to some particular bylaw such as the common driveway bylaw, backlot development, or the compliance with bylaws of an applicant for a special permit.

The next most frequently encountered category is the new category of intergovernmental affairs (24). There were 39 items within this category.

There were two examples of intergovernmental relations at the federal level, one having to do with water protection and one having to do with the Post Office and its role in designating house numbers in coordination with local public safety officials.

There were nine examples of local-state relations, including dealings with the Executive Office of Communities and Development and the Department of Environmental

Protection, and questions about the ANR process, funds for the town salt shed, and the plumbing code.

There were eighteen cases of local-county relations. Members of local planning boards are automatically members of the county planning board, but there were no instances of a planning board member reporting on county affairs. The initiative for local-county relations seemed to rest with the county, whose representatives were involved with a grant for water protection and a map project. There was also a dispute at the county court regarding the necessity for a special permit for the proposed library addition.

There were also 10 instances of relations with five neighboring towns.

Citizen participation (category seven) was a topic 20 times; seven of these had to do with the proposed revision of planning bylaws and the public hearings held to ascertain citizen opinions. Other topics included public hearings on a local generating plant, a road cut, and brush removal; public access to planning board files and plans; the search for volunteers for the planning board's open space committee and a conservation project. One was my own presentation offering this project for consideration.

Discussion of open space, category 12, occurred thirteen times, almost entirely due to the existence of a new Open Space Committee set up as a prerequisite to the application for an open space grant.

Items under the new category of transportation were also found thirteen times. These included four mentions of parking (mostly to do with the proposed library addition), four items about the status of various roads in proposed subdivisions (one of the definitions of a subdivision being the quality of access), two items concerning discontinuing town roads, and two mentions of work along town roads, one of these being the need for a public hearing concerning a road cut.

Budget concerns, category eight, appeared eleven times. These were mostly references to the annual budget request; other instances included discussion of a grant and two suggestions for revenue, one by raising permit fees, the other, selling copies of the proposed bylaws (which were also available in several locations for free inspection).

Items under the topic of water (category ten) came up ten times. Most of these dealt with aquifer and well-head protection and the corresponding county and federal programs.

Zoning (category six), which I had anticipated to be much more of a concern, appeared only seven times. Three of these had to do with enforcement; one of those was a jurisdictional question involving the Board of Selectmen and the Building Inspector.

Category sixteen, farmland preservation, came up three times, though there was also a related business item of a local store sponsoring a farmer's market, which directly

relates to farmland preservation through increased visibility of local farms in the community as well as an added business venue, and therefore greater profit opportunities, for those farms.

Items of environmental protection (category nine) appeared four times. One of these concerned erosion, though this was decided to be out of the planning board's jurisdiction; others items were included under the topic of a local conservation plan.

There were four instances of reference to aesthetics, category fourteen. Two of these had to do with the Town library.

Items concerning the media, the new category 22, also came up four times. Three involved coverage (two of these concerned objections to articles) and one was an invitation for a planning board member to write a column for the local paper. (This invitation was declined.)

The topic of waste (category seventeen) appeared three times, in references to the local landfill and hazardous waste.

Regionalization, category 13, appeared as an item of concern only once, having to do with a regional water district.

Comparison of Planning Board Minutes to Professionals' Survey

Old Mills

The categories from Chapter Four which were found in the Old Mills planning board records were, in order of their frequency of appearance, knowledge of existing state and local planning tools (2), citizen participation (7), by-laws (4), zoning (6), budget and fiscal (8), water and wetlands (10) and farmland preservation (16) (see Table 6, page 152). This order roughly follows the order of the survey of professionals.

However, this leaves no instances found of the categories of general context awareness and understanding (1), sense of community/ quality of life/democracy (3), knowledge of town processes, functions and resources excluding planning, zoning and fiscal (5), environmental protection (9), long-term planning (11), open space (12), regionalization (13), aesthetics (14), citizen skills (15), recycling and waste (17), environmental ethics (18), and public-private cooperation (19). This means that only a little more than one third of the professionals' categories are seen in the Old Mills records.

At first glance this might seem to indicate that topics of interest to planners are in this case mostly different from topics of interest to the Old Mills planning board. This may be due more to the paucity of record from Old Mills, as the Shays Town planning board records show a much

Table 6

Categories in Old Mills Planning Board Minutes, by Frequency

Category:	Number of items:
2	25
20	18
7	8
21	7
4	6
8	3
6	2
10	2
22	2
23	2
16	1

closer correlation (see below). However, it seems equally unlikely that the difference is due entirely to this situation. Unfortunately, then, no conclusions can be drawn from this segment of the study.

As noted above, there were also several additions to the categories derived in Chapter Four. Four out of the five new categories may be seen in the Old Mills records; transportation-related items (20), internal board affairs (21), media (22), and community education (23). Intergovernmental affairs (24), was seen only in the Shays Town minutes, though, as above, it seems reasonable to suggest that the lack of representation of this topic may be due more to the paucity of available records rather than to local insularity; in fact, during this time period, two of

the Shays Town instances of intergovernmental affairs dealt with Old Mills.

Shays Town

The categories from Chapter Four which were found in the Shays Town planning board records were, in order of their frequency of appearance, knowledge of existing state and local planning tools (2), knowledge of town processes, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning and fiscal (5), by-laws (4), citizen participation (7), open space (12), budget and fiscal (8), water and wetlands (10), zoning (6), farmland preservation (16), environmental protection (9), aesthetics (14), recycling and waste (17), regionalization (13) (see Table 7, page 154).

There were six categories from the professionals' survey not encountered in the Shays Town records; these include general and context awareness and understanding (1), sense of community/quality of life/democracy (3), long-term planning (11), citizen skills (15), environmental ethics (18), and public-private cooperation (19).

Additionally, the new topics of transportation related items (20), internal affairs (21), media (22), and intergovernmental affairs (24). Though this list parallels the professionals' categories more fully than the Old Mills records, the frequency of categories is generally not the same. Many of the categories most cited by the professionals are also often seen in these records; indeed,

Table 7

Categories in Shays Town Planning Board Minutes, by Frequency

Category:	Number of items:
2	144
5	118
21	71
4	67
24	39
7	20
12	13
20	13
8	11
10	10
6	7
16	3
9	4
14	4
22	4
17	3
13	1

with this larger sample of data, the results are much closer to the pattern seen in the professionals' survey.

Discussion

The additional categories shed some light on gaps in the professionals' opinions of what knowledge is necessary; the number of items in both towns about roads, generalized to transportation related items, is a very practical matter which seems to have escaped the professionals' attention.

Perhaps the professionals were on the whole more interested in environmental protection than cultural facilitation; as these two concerns are closely related, though, the results might show a significant difference in orientation between professionals and members of citizen boards (who, after all, must solve a variety of practical problems).

Notable absences of categories in the planning records of both towns include category 3, sense of community/quality of life/democracy; category 11, long-term planning; and category 15, citizen skills. Category 3 was implied by some items but was never explicitly mentioned as a goal of planning. Perhaps Town Meeting items should have been included here, though as the mention of Town Meetings was directed at the political functioning of the planning boards, the new category of internal affairs seems more appropriate.

Long-term planning represents another unfortunate hole in the fabric of planning concerns, though it must be noted that Shays Town has in the past actively considered the issues and in fact dedicated a Long Term Planning Committee to work on this issue. It seems odd and again unfortunate that the topic of long term planning could be of such interest to the planning board for it to form a committee without the topic subsequently occurring even once as part of the regular discussion of the planning board for several years.

The topic of the development of citizen skills was also sadly absent; the refining of citizen knowledge may have been sacrificed to the needs of the moment, where the pressures of time and local activity leave little room for reflection or training. The grooming of a pool of potential candidates for important local offices would seem to be especially important in a small town, where the size of the potential pool is small.

If this problem were thus addressed, planning board members (and other citizen office holders) might not wait to become so exhausted with their official duties that they find it necessary to step down for personal reasons. (This picture of "burn-out" comes to me largely anecdotally.)

Though this study shows differences between the concerns of professionals and planning boards, there is enough similarity to suggest that the final list of categories (see Chapter Nine) may be a useful organizing tool for local planning boards interested in a creating a comprehensive approach to planning.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMMUNITY MEETINGS AND BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION

The Community Meetings

Introduction

I made contact with the Boards of Selectmen and Planning Boards of Old Mills and Shays Town in the fall of 1991. Because I was proposing a process that went outside the traditional boundaries of the activities of town planning boards, which are typically limited to land use regulation, I eventually negotiated with the Boards of Selectmen of these towns regarding times and facilities for this project.

I was particularly interested in providing a forum for the discussion of community issues, including but not limited to topics traditionally covered by planners, in which broad issues of community planning and development important to the community could be explored outside of Town Meeting. In Town Meetings, such over-arching issues are sometimes aired but are not always appropriate; there is little time to consider them, and the real purpose of the Town Meeting is to debate and vote on issues on the warrant (though several respondents to the survey thought of Town Meeting as a place for just this kind of discussion).

I decided to conduct the meetings for the two towns sequentially rather than simultaneously after considering

the amount of work I could potentially be asked to do by the citizens. I consistently expressed my desire to act as, among other capacities, a research assistant for townspeople who wanted to know how to get hold of various kinds of information. Because there is such a gap between what citizens seem to know and what they would need to know if they were to exist in an ideal town, I thought that I should reserve as much time as possible for working with the townspeople on these issues.

I began work in Old Mills in late January, 1992; the last meeting was in late March. I gave the citizens of Old Mills one month's notice before the first meeting, with flyers going up several weeks in advance. I wanted to do the same in Shays Town but had to consider the effects of the Shays Town Town Meeting being the first Saturday of May. I decided to wait until after the Shays Town Town Meeting for three reasons: First, consistency with the timing of the publicity of the Old Mills series; second, anticipating that citizens most likely to become involved would probably be concentrating their civic attention on getting ready for Town Meeting; third, I thought that introducing the series at the beginning of a new political cycle might attract both those who wanted to push ahead with their own positive ideas and those who wished to reconsider what they found unsatisfactory at Town Meeting.

In retrospect, I believe I should have tried to hold at least one meeting before the annual Town Meeting. The

meeting would probably have been focused on certain minutiae of town politics, persuasion rather than discussion being the dominant mode of interaction, becoming partisan, with certain factions trying to dominate, but it would have attracted more public interest and the groundwork could have been laid for the later meetings. As it happened, it seems likely that the meetings were held at an anti-climactic time, rather than a reinvigorated time, for town affairs.

In any case, the meetings were publicized at the Shays Town Town Meeting and began the week after, lasting through the beginning of July.

Old Mills

Access

I wrote the Board of Selectmen on November 7, 1991; they agreed to hear me at their meeting on the seventeenth of December (they met only every other week). At that meeting, they expressed preliminary interest in my project and suggested that I return when the meeting would be on the local community-access cable television channel.

Publicity

My meetings with the Board of Selectmen were covered prominently by The Recorder, serving the Greenfield area, and the West County News, serving western Franklin County. These are the only major papers in the area.

The Board of Selectmen suggested that I prepare a paragraph to be sent out with material from the Town which would include items of public interest. I sent the following paragraph, which was included in that mailing.

> What do you see as Old Mills's major issues, problems, and solutions? You are invited to be part of a forum discussing the future of Old Mills and how the town can get there best. This program will be facilitated by Thomas Hutcheson, a doctoral candidate of the UMass School of Education, as part of his degree program. Come discuss with your neighbors, away from the pressures of Town Meeting, what you think of your town and its future.

I appeared on the local cable channel on the seventh of January, 1992, during the regular Board of Selectmen's meeting. I introduced myself and my project, offering the citizens of Old Mills (some viewers, though in Pocumtuck, were not in Old Mills) an opportunity to grapple with how the town is going to develop in the ways people want in the face of financial problems and uncertainty about the future.

I pointed out that as someone from outside the town, I wouldn't be "taking sides" on town issues, but that I would instead try to help everyone come to a better understanding of each others' perspectives and sentiments.

I mentioned several of the questions that I had considered asking:

> What do you think about your town: positives and negatives? How do you see yourselves as citizens participating in town affairs? What do you see as particular problems? What are some realistic ways to do something about the problems? What and who in the community might help deal with these problems? And finally--Where can you go from here?

I also mentioned that I would be sending out a survey.

The Town Clerk was very helpful in serving to break the ice with local citizens who stopped by the Town Offices. The Town Clerk's husband is a local farmer (as was his father); at one point they took out a commercial bank loan to pay their property tax, a fact I broadcast widely as an example of the kind of help a local credit union or community loan fund could be to local farmers.

Flyers were distributed to the Post Office, the Town Hall, the local grocery store (well-known and well-patronized), a section of exterior wall and fencing known to be the location of posters for upcoming events, and the local laundromat, which had a prominent section for the display of such flyers.

The first flyer was simply an open letter, headed "To Citizens Of Old Mills," explaining what was being offered, who was offering it (and why), and what the format and schedule would be. I also offered in this flyer to hold weekend meetings if Tuesday meetings were inconvenient.

This first flyer was not terribly attractive or striking; I produced a much more concise, eye-catching flyer after the first meeting, based on concerns brought up at the first meeting. These included the fiscal crisis, state requirements without adequate funding, community spirit, and the local economy. I also specifically targeted two groups which I thought might be motivated to participate if they thought the other would be involved, "Yankees" and

"Yuppies," asking "Could it be that the Yankees and the Yuppies are really on the same team?"

Due to the low participation rates, my final flyer was more provocative, entitled "Changing Old Mills," inspired by the point made by one of the participants in the second meeting (see below) that "Old Mills is changing; it is no longer a sleepy little town." I invited people to "Come tell us how Old Mills is changing, how Old Mills should be changing," and "what's keeping Old Mills from changing," and to "Come explore what Old Mills could be like, how to change Old Mills for the better," and "how Old Mills can survive economic trouble." I included more issues derived from the meetings:

> How can Old Mills run a multi-million dollar operation with volunteers? Can volunteers be trained to do the job right in a week? Should Old Mills hire a full-time administrator? Would such an administrator save the town enough money to pay his or her own salary? What can you and your neighbors do about the fiscal crisis, state requirements without adequate funding, community spirit, and your local economy?

The Meetings

Preparations for the meetings included reading some Old Mills history, driving around the town to get a sense of the different villages and areas, and creating an exercise for the meeting, which was to involve a handout of a map of town along with the headings "favorite places," "favorite things," "major issues," and "major problems". I also

prepared a preliminary agenda, along with some introductory remarks.

None of the meetings was well-attended; only a total of eight people participated over the course of the entire series. This was of course a major disappointment; apparently providing citizens with an opportunity to grapple with the Town's condition in a neutral setting was an insufficient motivation for stimulating participation.

This town is not noted for a great deal of civic involvement; the Town Clerk informed me that a participation rate of 15% at Town Meeting is considered good, and that she had a good deal of trouble finding people willing to fill committee positions. Also, as it happened, the weather was bad each of the nights, and in winter, that can make a significant difference (even I felt that the freezing rain was too dangerous to drive in one evening and canceled that meeting). Perhaps if I had been on cable television, I could have sponsored a phone-in talk show that would have allowed those unwilling to go out the chance to participate. Such participation would not be a sufficient substitute for an actual meeting, though, as the participants would necessarily lose the experience of the social environment. Another meeting happened to fall on the night of the primary elections. See "Barriers to Participation" below for a fuller discussion of these issues.

The first forum was held on the twenty-eighth of January, 1992. Four people attended; two old-time Old Mills

residents and two former residents who had just moved to Shays Town. I was told that I was competing with three other meetings that night; it was also the night of the President's State of the Union message. Two reporters attended as well, one from the Union News and a freelance contributor to public radio.

By the request of one of the participants who had had a stroke and suffered a slight speech impairment and an equally slight memory loss, and because there were so few people attending, I did not tape record the meeting, though I did take notes. Interestingly, it was this man was the most active participant whom I will call Patrick Henry. He held the position of town assessor for eighteen years earlier in his life.

He mentioned several topics of interest: The old "Work Days" of from thirty to forty years ago, when townspeople would, several times a year, exchange labor with their neighbors and fellow townspeople, raking and baling hay, and once laying the foundation for local Grange (which, sadly, has "died of old age," with no new members to replace the old). The cause of the demise of the work days was seen as involving both a lack of leadership and problems with time in people's lives; people are too busy, they go to work far away, get home late, and are not ready to go out again; and on their free day for work, Saturday, they tend to concentrate on their own places, individually.

Other problems cited were too many state mandates without sufficient funding, placing a severe financial strain on small towns; the advent of Proposition 2 1/2 in 1982, which effectively bars the town from raising its tax rates (even if just to keep up with inflation) as a matter of course; education, as high schools advocate college preparation without vocational training; and the general perception that life is filled with events that leave less time for neighborly activities.

The issue of local industry was brought up by another participant. The local mill is feeling the effects of global trade; the question of the possibility of incentives for local development was raised, but of course not resolved. If more people had attended it is this sort of issue which might have caught local people's imagination, especially as one option might be for companies to offer their workers (and the community) the option of buying the business if they're thinking of selling out.

Mr. Henry brought up the problem of the lack of citizen participation in town affairs on his own, saying that people who have the needed abilities won't run for office, claiming that they don't have time, and that people won't turn out in numbers for anything.

He also noted a general lack of civility and what he called a "town/gown" problem, which I gather refers to the "Yankee versus Yuppie" dichotomy, that is, an influx of

professionals without former ties to the town, a perception vindicated by the census figures.

In the meeting on February 11th the theme of the evening was the debate around hiring a town manager or administrator. The town has a $2 million budget and there are problems with having the selectmen be responsible only for part-time management of a multi-million dollar budget.

Other problems with selectmen as managers include 1) capability--there is no assurance that the person elected will be able to manage, 2) workload--there is a lot of work to be done and even three part-time people can't be expected to keep on top of everything that should (as opposed to might) be done, and 3) political problems of living in a small town where official decisions have personal consequences; personalities may play an inappropriate part in conducting town business; problems with cooperation between the Town Clerk and an administrative assistant have been seen in Shays Town, and lesser but related problems may play a part in Old Mills as well. Of course, there would still be personality problems with a town manager, but the manager is hired rather than elected, making any deviation from political neutrality a potential cause for job loss.

There were several related issues concerning a volunteer government. In the past, volunteers have borne much of the burden of town administration (as well as governance), requiring exceptional dedication and sometimes leading to burnout. Also, volunteers may have a willingness

to work but not the corresponding skills. There is a perceived gap between the pool of available talent and the tasks needed to run the town, including those of the Board of Selectmen. Officials need training; the duties of town officials are currently being spelled out in a "job classification" document. Another problem in governance is that there is only one week before the election of Selectmen and their taking office. This leaves very little time for acclimatization. (There is a three-year staggered term of office, but a new selectman may spend as long as a year before feeling confident enough to ask the right questions.)

I did get a chance to do some research for the participants; I was asked to find out how many towns in Massachusetts have populations similar to Old Mills (and would therefore be likely to be suffering the same problem of a limited pool of qualified potential town officers). I found through census data that 175 out of the 351 cities and towns in Massachusetts (almost exactly half) of the towns in Massachusetts have fewer than 10,000 inhabitants; 121, or over one-third, have fewer than 5,000. In the four western counties of Massachusetts, there are fifty-four towns (out of 101 municipalities) with fewer than 2,000 people, making them comparable to Old Mills in population. The problem of the limited pool of qualified town officials seems likely to be widespread.

Other problems mentioned include people wanting services without appreciating their cost and therefore their

tax situation, and that property owners in Old Mills are $200,000 in arrears. Assessors can put a lien on the property (though the deputy assessor who collects gets half the fee, reducing the incentive for the primary assessor).

During this time I received a letter from a citizen unable of unwilling to attend the meetings but wanting to express his opinion regarding the need for a town administrator. I took this to mean that there was some communication among the townspeople about what I was doing, even though they, by and large, weren't attending. Stimulating this secondary level of communication should be an explicit goal in future research.

On March 10th I had a half-hour conversation with the sole attender, a member of the town Finance Committee, who led me succinctly through his version of what Old Mills needed most and how he was going to go about trying to change the structure of town government. There was to be a special Town Meeting later this month to determine the matter, a proposed change to an appointed tax collector and assessor, and a future combination of the two roles into one. He gave me several "alternative future" town charts and seemed extremely capable and concerned, he offered his apologies for not attending the meetings, but seemed too busy. Unfortunately, there was no one else present to discuss the matters he brought up.

Discussion

It is conceivable that instead of such participation serving to whet the appetites of the citizens for more involvement in community issues, a level of saturation of interest was reached so that the curiosity of those who might have participated in this current study was not sufficiently piqued for them to attend the meetings. Also, as the Clesson Brook Valley project was oriented specifically toward zoning within a specific area of town (as well as planning in general), a provocative and controversial topic, there was more of an incentive for particular interested citizens to attend than for the general citizen to attend meetings on the broad topic of community development or the future of the town.

It seems that there are at least a few concerned citizens; out of these, though, there seem to be few willing to take the opportunity I offered. I was a stranger; they were already active; they were preoccupied; there were no issues so pressing that a public forum was demanded for their resolution. These seem to be the main reasons for the current lack of participation.

Shays Town

Access

I went before the Shays Town Planning Board on the sixteenth of October to discuss my proposal; they seemed

very receptive, but again, I was referred to the Board of Selectmen for final approval.

I went before the Shays Town Selectmen on the thirtieth of March and got approval for coming into their town. The next day I called the Shays Town Town Clerk and set up meetings for every other Thursday, starting May 7th.

Publicity

I put up flyers on April ninth in the country store in the center of town (also the source of most local informal sharing of information), the other major store in town (a convenience store), the Town Hall, and the Library.

A notice of the meetings was also placed in the May issue of the town monthly, and there was a second article in the West County News on March 27th.

Unlike Old Mills, there was no local cable channel, and no town-wide notices were being sent out. I did have the opportunity, though, to get a flyer posted at the entrance to the Town Hall for Town Meeting.

Shays Town's Town Meeting also provided me with an idea for a second flyer. At that Town Meeting, on May 2nd, an article advocating applying a proposed federal peace dividend to domestic needs was passed unanimously. I created a poster, "Planning for Peace," thinking bringing that dimension to bear on local issues might bring in some people who might otherwise not come.

Whenever I put up a new batch of posters (which I did three times) I made sure to talk to the owner of the local store in the middle of town, the source of much local information-sharing. He "introduced" me to a man whom I had the pleasure of having as a professor as an undergraduate, and who seemed interested in the meetings and certainly in the issues; I must not have made as much of an impression as it seemed at the time, though, as it happened that he was (randomly) selected to receive a survey and indicated there that he was unaware of the meetings. I also met in that store a woman from the Shays Town Historical Society who didn't seem particularly interested in the future, though I tried to make certain connections for her based on the place and value of agriculture in the local economy.

The first flyer was designed after I had learned the lessons of Old Mills; be brief and strong. It was entitled "Help Save Shays Town" and noted (in smaller print, for those who wanted to know more about "saving Shays Town"):

> Shays Town is under great pressure to develop in ways which will destroy its local economy and community. How fast is Shays Town becoming a bedroom community, with its citizens working and shopping out of town? Is there anything Shays Town can do to secure its basic economy in the face of state and federal fiscal mismanagement? Yes!

Following was an invitation to participate, along with more suggestions for the content of the meeting:

> What is the base of the local economy? Are people getting what they need and want? What is the ecological base of Shays Town? Are we completely dependent on automobiles and foreign

oil, and is there something we can do about it? Come discuss these issues with your neighbors.

The Meetings

Turnout for these meetings was almost non-existent, which was extremely disappointing, as I had prepared more materials than I had for Old Mills. Only two people showed up during the entire series.

The first meeting (May 7th), for which I was as prepared as I've ever been, was attended only by A., with whom I had a very long, enjoyable talk. We started chatting informally; I thought of asking to turn the tape recorder on, but decided not to break the flow of conversation. As no one else attended, we met only for a short time.

A. was again the only person to attend the second meeting. We talked about why people didn't come; her main conclusion seemed to be that people's time was so precious "these days" that unless someone was really driven, as she is, no one would tackle the big picture.

She noted that a farming community has more time to invest in town affairs; often today, both parents of a family work, causing tiredness and stress, especially without an after-school program. She also found that people are poorer; real income is down, and people have to work harder to maintain their position. It is her observation that church and grange participation is down as well as political participation. In relation to planning in

particular, she finds that people are sick of regulations, showing a decline in enlightened self-interest (her phrase).

After the meetings, I left several brochures on the Town Hall information board in case anyone was interested (see Appendix C). The town clerk mentioned to me several weeks later that she had read it and found it interesting, which was gratifying but not as timely as it might have been.

Comparison of Categories of Professionals' Survey and Citizens' Meetings

It will be recalled that the main categories of suggested citizen competence in professional judgement are (from Chapter Four) 1) general and context awareness and understanding; 2) knowledge of existing state and local planning tools; 3) sense of community/quality of life/democracy; 4) by-laws; 5) knowledge of town process, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning, fiscal; 6) zoning; 7) citizen participation/involvement; 8) budget and fiscal; 9) environmental protection; 10) water and wetlands; 11) long-term planning; 12) open space; 13) regionalization; 14) aesthetics; 15) citizen skills; 16) farmland preservation; 17) recycling and waste; 18) environmental ethics; and 19) public-private cooperation.

To these were added, from Chapter Six, transportation-related items (20), internal board affairs (21), media (22), community education (23) and intergovernmental affairs (24).

As there was little participation, there was little raw data with which to work. The Shays Town meetings offered no raw data to work with at all, as the conversations I did have were simply introductions of my project, along with some discussion of the lack of participation (covered below). Categories brought up in the Old Mills meetings included sense of community/ quality of life/democracy (number three; two references), citizen participation/ involvement (number seven; two references), budget and fiscal (number eight; one reference) and citizen skills (number fifteen, one reference).

Still, I was pleased to find one new category generated by the meetings, that of economic factors (25).

Due to the paucity of the material obtained in the citizens' meetings for both towns, there can be no firm conclusions drawn regarding the correspondence between professionals' interests and citizens' interests, or differences based on the characters of the two towns. For instance, in talking with the Old Mills town clerk I discovered that a major issue in town is school regionalization, though no one brought up that issue in the meetings. Regionalization was a category of concern for professionals; it seems unwise to try to find significance in matters that were not covered.

Barriers to Participation

Fagence's Treatment

Fagence (1977, Section Four) provides by far the fullest treatment of the barriers to participation I was able to identify in the literature. He declares "the whole matter of non-participation...extremely complex" (p. 347) and covers several major thrusts of theory.

Woodward and Roper (1950, cited in Fagence, 1977) consider several variants of the argument that the correlation of participation increasing with socio-economic status is causal, the converse premise being that non-participation is a function of low status. The arguments include the factors of:

> ...the availability of the time and energy to undertake the additional responsibilities, the degree of participant economic security, the expectation of success, the vested personal interest in decision outcomes [for example, the ownership of property--THE], the inherent characteristics of self-confidence, the adolescent "training" in self and community responsibility, the political norms related to socio-economic status, the electorate's expectations..., the skills and aptitudes required in participation activities, and the degree of identification with the issue under discussion or with other participants (p. 347).

All of these seem plausible factors in describing the causes for participation rates. Those living from paycheck to paycheck, engaging mostly in survival behavior, have less time to participate in non-essential activities; the link between economic security and voter participation is well-established (Boyce and Hutcheson, 1990); and renters may

have less interest in questions involving the amount of change in property taxes (which drives a considerable amount of the discussion of budgetary issues at Town Meetings), even though increased taxes may be reflected in rent increases. The other factors seem similarly reasonable.

Fagence also cites Durkheim's concept of "anomie" or social disintegration and alienation as an attempt to create a framework for understanding non-participation. Future research might well include examining specific cases of non-participation with this complex of possible factors in mind.

Fagence suggests two major types of barriers regarding the specifics of participation in planning. The first includes barriers arising from the nature and subject matter of planning and the people affected by it; the second includes impediments which exist due to the current unsophisticated practices of participation, which in turn are caused by the relatively newly-legislated obligation to participate and the burden placed on real actors to create meaningful participation in a new way.

Barriers arising from the nature and subject matter of planning

Under this first set of barriers Fagence approaches problems through identifying four groups of interested parties; decision and plan makers, participation specialists, the participants themselves, and those concerned with the subject matter of planning.

A major problem in decision making in planning arises from the scope of decisions necessary for, for example in the case of comprehensive planning. A multitude of social decisions are involved, including political and economic decisions, as well as physical and ecological problems.

This suggests a great deal of interdependence among traditional decision makers; with a variety of affected citizens and their interests included, there is bound to be a certain amount of confusion as to both the locus of decision-making and the process, which is, because of the scope and interdependence of the decisions to be made, necessarily complex.

Another cluster of problems in decision making is seen in the unfortunate reality of both the current general educational attainment of citizens (which typically does not include an overview of planning), the ability of an unrepresentative group of citizens to convene a temporary majority in opposition to any particular plan, and the possibility of two active but mutually opposed groups participating in the same process.

There are also bureaucratic problems in taking some of the power to plan away from professional planners and giving it to people without specialized planning knowledge and experience. Coincident with this is the need for planners to be open to participation and willing to receive constructive criticism without seeing it as an attack on their valued profession. Fagence (1977, p. 351) cites a

case in which planners, "having received unexpectedly severe treatment from residents [in what had been though to be an area "ideal" for an experiment in participation]...seem to have become prejudiced against any public intervention in the plan-making process."

In a second arena, participation specialists are concerned with the social and political means of planning. Fagence (1977, p. 339) lists six major problems regarding what he terms "the means to participation":

> 1) ...representative democracy may be threatened or... prejudiced by the introduction into the decision-making process of a less institutionalized mode of local representation; 2) the techniques presently available may not (in fact do not) accommodate the variable pitch of lay inputs [such as different definitions of the quality of life--THE] into the decision-making process; 3) the strategies and practices, once commenced, need to be capable of sustaining the interest and involvement of the participants...; 4) the differential types of decision situation and level of planning naturally extend the scope of necessary participatory techniques...; 5) the sections of society it is most desirable to involve, the persistent non-joiners, seem to resist the most overt overtures...; 6) the technology, and more simply the existence of an adequate forum for the various types of gathering considered necessary in programmes of participation, is frequently unavailable.

He gives four approaches to solving these problems, ranging from the conservative to the progressive. Each has its own further problems: The abbreviated approach is characterized by a token program; the cautious is characterized by a real program, but one which is kept distanced from power; the ebullient, which is characterized by a great deal of grass-roots involvement but lacking real

power, and the structured, which institutionalizes participation but may not include adequate staff development to support a substantial change in planners' perspectives or concurrent structural change without which participation is effectively marginalized.

In the third area, problems regarding the participants include education, apathy, and alienation, which are also indicators of general social development. As above, the list of potential reasons for people not to participate in political activity in general is long and its components are interrelated in a complex manner. Fagence (1977, p. 344), putting participation in planning in a social context, notes:

> Most of the fundamental changes which have occurred in society, and which have been manifest in technological advances during recent decades, have sustained an impact on planning and planners which has progressively demanded a revision of the methodology and philosophy of and for planning....

These include a rising consciousness of the widening differences in the distribution of economic, social, and educational attainment in the citizenry. Faced with a powerful bureaucracy, the average citizen is dependent on a willingness to cooperate with bureaucrats, and the willingness of bureaucrats to create an benign influence: "Perhaps the final determinant or impediment is the willingness of politicians, public officials and the public to become involved in participation practices, and their capacities to do so" (Fagence, 1977, p. 345).

The problem of apathy is deep. How can those who traditionally not participate be drawn into the process? Are we dealing with simply a political problem or a deeper cultural problem, and if the problem is cultural, what steps can be taken to address it?

There are two competing theories for the root cause of apathy; either an apathetic citizenry feels alienated from decision making or it feels basically content with the status quo (Fagence, p. 346). More likely, the problem involves a complex of factors, changing between individuals and over time.

Lastly, the subject matter of planning is in itself a barrier to participation in its social and technical complexity. Fagence's description of the complexity of planning as a means to an enhanced quality of life is itself almost overwhelming:

> The subject matter of planning is no less diverse than the full spectrum of the social, economic and physical environment; it is no less complex in its relationships and inter-connectedness than mush of the technical gadgetry which becomes available to society in waves; it is deserving of no less a sophisticated decision-making process than the strategic and space programs of the most advance nations, although in planning the behavioural variables are less capable of certain prediction, manipulation, or control; it is in need of the information storage and analytical capabilities of the most intricate computer aids; it is as susceptible to the euphoric introduction of untried techniques and methods, as most forms of political activity, and it is as liable to failure; it is particularly important because of the durability of the decisions which are made, especially when they become fossilized in concrete, and of the timescale necessary to proceed from the idea to

its implementation; and finally, but not necessarily exhausting the complexity of planning matters, the conduct of planning is almost everywhere constrained by a statutory basis.

Barriers arising from participation practices

Fagence lists four major barriers which seem to be inherent to the bureaucratic environment in which programs for participation in planning exist. These are the requirements of 1) maintaining a planning staff skilled in participation practice, 2) the added cost of participation programs, 3) the additional time required to include citizen participants in planning procedures, and 4) the trade-off between efficiency and consensus in making decisions. As Fagence notes, these requirements are far from being met in most planning agencies. Until the functions described are institutionalized, relations between planners and general citizens are likely to remain antagonistic.

First, maintaining a staff skilled in the practice of citizen participation means assuring that the staff has, besides expertise in the subject matter of planning, expertise in group facilitation. This in turn requires both political and personal sensitivity and a commitment to a democratic philosophy.

Fagence then identifies three possible types of participation specialists. The first is one responsible for publicity and communication, making sure that the goal of mutual understanding between government officials and

general citizens is met. The second is that of the facilitator who acts as a translator between policy makers and citizens, a process technician who is a mediator between interest groups. The third kind of participation specialist is one who functions as an advocate, an ombudsman for citizens, as citizens typically do not share the kind of institutional support enjoyed by publicly (or even privately) employed planners.

Second, cost is a factor which severely limits a planning agency's capability to institutionalize citizen participation. Increased costs may be expected in the increased effort necessary to provide and process the results of participation, including staff or consultant time for publicity, facilitation, educational materials, and the use of facilities; in short, the normal operating expenses of any bureaucracy. Fagence also considers the possibility of reimbursing participants for lost wages, travel, and child care expenses.

It is important to note that the benefits accrued from the costs incurred are not easily subject to monitarization, making a strict cost-benefit analysis inappropriate. It is difficult, if not impossible or even pointless, to try to estimate how much money might have been saved in the long run by inviting participation at an early stage in the planning process. There are also significant externalities, such as the enhanced educational position of citizens both directly participating and indirectly interested, the

increased efficiency of government which obviates the need to respond to legitimate but after-the-fact appeals, protests, and challenges, and the value of increased democracy itself, none of which lend themselves easily to budgetary analysis.

The last two basic problems are the related ones of 1) the limited time scale of planning, and 2) creating an efficient program within a democratic framework. Development pressures on both time and democratic involvement are great and subject to the movement of capital, which can occur quite rapidly, both in and out of an area. Time, and timing, is of great importance both to business and government. This is especially true in planning, and the more time that can be saved, the more successful a planning process will be perceived.

Most "planning" is now project-oriented review, with the determination of a plan's consistency with regulations being the major factor in a planner's daily activities. There is little time for delay in a great deal of the work of most planners; citizen participation can seem both irrelevant and irritating to professionals used to straightforward, quantitative project assessment.

This means that for a program of citizen participation to avoid being seen as dilatory, citizens should be fully informed of basic planning concepts and procedures <u>before</u> joining a participatory process. In reality, this is unlikely to be the case, as most citizens are unaware of the

basics of planning and to educate the citizens interested in participating in any particular process could take even longer than the completion of the project at hand. Thus citizen education in preparation for participation seems to be a prudent precursor to any particular participation process.

Other Barriers and Discussion

Grantham and Dyer (1981, p. 19) note that success in facilitating community education requires "at least a partial realization by the community that it wants to try to influence the course of change and can use help in taking action to do that."

The generality of the idea of community development may be a hindrance to people's realization that change is occurring throughout the whole community. Citizens, with a general lack of leisure time to consider local issues (Schor, 1991), may require meetings targeted to very narrowly-defined issues of specific problems. This practical need seems opposed to the goal of generally enhanced, or what could be called liberal, civic education.

The time scale of community meetings may also be a factor. One town clerk reported, after the meetings in that town had ended, that she was interested in the brochure I had produced, which she had gotten off the wall. That was good news, but it indicates that a couple of months is not long enough to provide sufficient opportunities for

participation. Perhaps a year-long series, offered once every several years by a consortium of town committees, would provide a more useful forum for citizens in the long run. This would also be in line with current business strategic planning processes.

The Shays Town community survey provided some useful information (see Chapter Eight for a fuller discussion). Lack of time was a problem for five respondents; lack of child care, specifically, was cited by two respondents as a reason they did not attend the meetings.

One of the strategies of this study was to provide citizens with the opportunity to define their own issues, within the broad but still grounded context of community development. This was intended to stimulate the self-interest of citizens, in that they were being invited to define the context within which their own communities could then develop. It seems that this necessary breadth of topic may have served as a disincentive to participate, as narrowly-focused, immediate concerns may stimulate more participation.

Citizens in towns with open Town Meetings have a structurally high degree of power (cf. Arnstein, 1969). In exercising that power, citizens need to understand the town budget, which represents the whole financial dimension of the town. Community development represents a greater whole, involving not only the whole financial dimension but the

environmental and social dimensions of town life as well. This demands a great deal of attention from citizens.

In order for their self-interest to be stimulated, citizens would first have to be able to perceive that greater whole, and second be able to consider various scenarios relating to it. Citizens in towns with open Town Meetings do not automatically feel sufficiently motivated to pursue this broad avenue of interest and activity.

This implies that some potentially fruitful areas of future research is discovering how citizens perceive first, their own power, and second, the relation of their local budget to the development of their community. This could be examined in combination with an analysis of known direct relationships between fiscal autonomy and community development, such as the acquisition of open space, the tax structure for farmland, and the provision for and production of affordable housing, and the structure of the local public economy (ACIR, 1987).

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMUNITY SURVEYS

Introduction

I mailed a survey to every seventh person on the voter registration list in Old Mills and Shays Town, asking four categories of questions to Old Mills residents; this was expanded to five, and some questions were refined, in the Shays Town survey.

Some of the questions were meant to have factual answers; most were intended to provide a glimpse of how the respondent viewed a subject, in both the cognitive and affective (emotional) domains. A good example is the question on the role of Town Meeting in planning, in which responses are compared with how the subject is legally treated. Legally, Town Meeting legislates, it doesn't plan or act other than to decide articles on its warrant (agenda), but a number of respondents valued the opportunity to discuss broad issues during Town Meeting. This perception suggest that some forum institutionalized by a town for that purpose might be welcomed, if its purpose--and the legal but sometimes contrasted purpose of Town Meeting--were made clear. Similar differences were found between legal and common definitions of planning, and in other categories as well.

The first category was general background, and including questions on age, length of residence in town, previous involvement in Town affairs, valued aspects of the town, an assessment of change regarding the values stated, and the role of the town regarding the protection of aspects valued by its citizens.

The next category covered Town Meeting. Questions were asked about attendance, the role of Town Meeting, and any perceived gaps in function.

The next category was planning, and asked for cognitive and affective assessments of the topic of planning (not limited to the profession, but most answered as though it were), issues in planning, and the respondents need and ability to get information about planning.

The last section dealt with community development, asking about the community's economy and presenting for comment options for increased economic stability, such as credit unions, cooperatives, support for local farms, energy conservation, and recycling (based in part on issues discussed in Rocky Mountain Institute, 1989, Meeker-Lowry, 1988, Jacobs, 1984, Lovins, 1977, and Morgan, 1940).

As I produced the Shays Town survey after the Old Mills survey, I was able to improve on the earlier one. The Shays Town survey, aside from improvements in phrasing, included additional questions under community development about possible new businesses and personal use of the library, and

included a category covering the community meetings, publicity, interest, and reasons for not attending.

Responses by Question: Old Mills

On June 19, 1992 I sent surveys to 156 Old Mills residents, one out of every seven voters on the town list (see Appendix A). I received 19 responses for a 12 percent response rate. Elmquist (1988, p. 20) states that "community surveys usually produce a response rate of 15 to 22 percent," so 12 percent may be considered low but reasonable.

Following are summaries of the responses, under sub-headings which are the questions asked in the survey. Not all people responded to all questions, so the total number of responses (given in parentheses after the question) often does not equal nineteen.

General Questions

How old are you? (19). The mean age of the respondents was 47; the median age was 50. At the high end, two people 80 years of age replied; at the low end, only two respondents were in their twenties or thirties.

How long have you or your family lived in Old Mills? (19). The mean time lived in Old Mills was 21 years; the median was 19. Given the ages of the respondents, it may be deduced that most respondents are not natives. Two have

lived in town 50 years, one of them has a wife who has lived there 72 years. One has lived there 38 years; all the rest have lived there fewer than thirty years. Ten respondents lived there fewer than twenty years.

Have you ever been involved with town affairs? How and when? (19). Eight people, or not quite half, responded affirmatively, and six of these listed more than one activity. The responses represented a wide range of town activities and positions. Two people took a broad view of the question, mentioning Town Meeting and work on various specific issues; six limited themselves to listing elected or appointed positions.

What do you value most about Old Mills? (19). There were two distinct categories of response to this question, people (or culture) and the environment. Nine respondents listed only cultural features, and two people mentioned only the land.

Cultural features included the atmosphere of a small town; peace and quiet; values and history; the library and Bookmobile; activities; family ties; and democracy. Neighborliness was mentioned by three people.

The natural beauty of Old Mills was praised by several respondents.

Six people mentioned both cultural and natural features, especially the rural environment. Two people

mentioned open space--a planning term--specifically. Other typical phrases describe rural character (perhaps also influenced by planning terminology); small size and a "country" atmosphere; a friendly community atmosphere; and great fishing.

Is what you value about Old Mills changing (for better or for worse)? (18). Six respondents noticed little or no change, though two were wary, citing as worries development pressures in the central valley (perhaps due to the Conway Design Associates study cited in Chapter Five) and crime and drugs. One person thought that change was slowed because of the high unemployment rate.

Only two respondents noted a change for the better, seeing first, fewer vacant storefronts and run-down houses, more young people with young families, and the growth of the local store, and second, that the board of selectmen is willing to try and get along with other town officials and their own committees.

Eight people saw a change for the worse. Existing development was cited by four people, who cited increased growth and housing, and building in general. It was noted by one person that more housing is required for growth, reflecting the predominant growth-at-any-cost economic mentality; the concept of growth in the quality of life, especially through progressive planning, seems unfortunately absent.

Two people noted a lack of civic consciousness, one commenting that "people feel that laws don't apply to them, only others," the other that the constant threat of lawsuits erodes "our children's right to be children, swimming..., riding bikes in parking lots, rollerblading down the street, etc."

One lamented the loss of a local country store (the current store specializes in health foods) but finds much more concern about saving the land and eliminating pollution on the river.

Does the town have a role to play in protecting what you value? (18). The answers were all affirmative, with the exception of one abstention and a comment distinguishing theory and practice, suggesting that the town's future is inevitably suburban, and that planning cannot help. Nine people simply answered "yes," one "certainly," and several added specifications.

Specifications included several having to do with traditional land use planning, such as proper planning by reasonable, knowledgeable people; making sure zoning and building codes (etc.) are enforced and updated when necessary; protecting natural resources; creating good zoning laws; monitoring seepage from adjacent town dump; and managing growth.

Other specifications included comments about town staff, urging an increased degree of professionalism and professional conduct.

Town Meeting

Do you normally go to Town Meeting? Why or why not? (19). Only six respondents reported affirmatively, and one of them only goes to the annual Town Meeting (not special Town Meetings). Another two hedged, saying that their attendance depended on the issues at hand.

Nine people responded negatively; four gave no reason. One had to work in the evening and so could not attend, and one is so new to the town that he doesn't feel his participation is appropriate.

Other reasons for not attending were quite varied. One was not owning property in the town, which is not legally a prerequisite for attending; in fact, in Old Mills, it never was (Kendrick, 1937). Another trusts Town Meeting to spend wisely and "has nothing to impart," an incomplete self-perception as the respondent found the personal resources to fill out the survey. A third claimed not being aware of meeting times as a reason for not attending, along with "rarely hav[ing] time to attend [to] outside affairs."

A fourth thought that since Town Meeting was televised on local cable, there was no reason to attend, while a fifth found the physical format difficult and a trial of stamina. This suggests that a system of remote voting, such as voting

by telephone, would be useful; indeed, with the recent passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act, towns in New England with open Town Meetings are required to face a host of similar issues, including access to the sight- and hearing-impaired. Disabilities were specifically mentioned by two other people as reasons for not attending recent meetings.

Did you attend the latest annual Town Meeting? If not, why not? (18). Four people responded affirmatively, fifteen negatively. Several answers were the same as the above, citing having to work, being newcomers, physical discomfort, and not knowing the date.

Two people were out of town, which brings up the question of proxy voting, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It may be said, though, that as Town Meeting is a deliberative body, the articles on the warrant are subject to debate and amendment, making the casting of votes previous to Town Meeting, or absentee voting, impossible.

Naturally, the issue of disabilities appeared here as well. One respondent watched Town Meeting on television with a sick spouse, another had medical problems. A third was too tired to attend, which seems not to be strictly a disability, but is nonetheless a problem which might be obviated by a system of remote voting.

Three people seemed cynical, one calling Town Meeting "too boring and too long," another being "tired of people's

useless haggling and their lack of productive reasoning," and another simply not wanting to sit through it, as the budget seemed alright.

Did you attend the latest special Town Meeting? If not, why not? (18). Only two people responded affirmatively. Most of the negative answers were repeated from the previous question. Of those that were not, two mentioned that they watched it on television; one mentioned that the issues are less critical than those dealt with in the annual Town Meeting; and one had a conflict with a son's baseball game. This latter reason, if the baseball game was town (or even regionally) sponsored, suggests that scheduling conflicts in town functions should be scrupulously avoided; perhaps, with special Town Meetings brought on by the increasingly frequent necessity of overriding state-imposed budget constraints, special Town Meetings could be regularly scheduled, as is the annual Town Meeting.

What do you see as the role of Town Meeting in planning? (15). Two respondents gave textbook answers: "Advice and consent," and "Town Meeting is not the forum for planning; [it] should only approve or reject planning proposals." Indeed, Town Meeting exists to act on the warrant. It may equally be stated, though, as several respondents did, that Town Meeting serves a variety of

functions related to that, such as debating the issues, channeling questions and tasks to the appropriate bodies, and "defining values" (e.g., what is "reasonable" growth?) or "making the opinions of...town inhabitants known to those doing the planning."

On a more radical path, one respondent said that Town Meeting should approve all planning decisions; a distinction between major and minor was not made. Another noted that Town Meeting "decides the issues, but that's not planning." Of course, much the same could be said of the typical planning board, relegated simply to reviewing development proposals.

Another thought that Town Meeting was the place to organize long-term goals and discuss broad ideas. This perceived "discussion" aspect of Town Meeting, versus proper debate, may seem opposed to the "action" aspect applied narrowly but appropriately to articles on the warrant. This points to a perceived need to relate action on warrant articles to a broader conception and understanding of a town's development path, without which decisions on subsidiary matters may not be sufficiently enlightened. It is the lack of such a general forum which was the major stimulus for this research.

Five respondents did not answer or were non-committal; two mistook the question, answering "yes" and "I have watched some on television."

Two people took this opportunity to mention property in relation to democracy (different from the person in the first Town Meeting question). One said, "I would probably go if we buy a house;" another said that since money is appropriated, articles must be voted by taxpayers who pay it (as before, not true, as a Town Meeting could theoretically occur without any taxpayers present).

Are there any issues not covered in Town Meeting you would like to address? (13). Eight people responded negatively, five affirmatively. One asked how to counteract apathy and stimulate more involvement by citizens; one wanted a beautification program and a public gathering place for young people; one declined to elaborate.

Two were strongly worded. One said, "it is my opinion that decisions are being made that are not consistent with democracy," while the other wanted a mechanism to "get police and other officials to do their job; not be nasty, just do the job."

Planning

Two respondents declined to answer any of the questions about planning; four chose not to answer all but one question (on previous involvement, which they answered in the negative). This suggests that opinions were being withheld by a significant proportion of respondents. Without further research, I would be unable to answer the

question of why this should be; I speculate that those who did not answer are opposed to planning, as it seems likely that people in favor of planning would not boycott a whole section of the survey. Being opposed to planning is not perceived as "politically correct" and the proponents of this view would understandably feel marginalized, especially if unable to articulate their position in the debate of individualism versus socialism, or of the public versus the private good (let alone formulate a synthetic position). There is also be a high degree of emotion invested in the subject; this, together with a strong defensive posture against a perceived opponent, would tend to dampen vocal opposition.

Yet this opposition to planning remains, whether expressed in the reticence shown by those not participating in this section of the survey or not, and unless questions about planning can be considered and acted on openly and democratically, the community cannot be democratically healthy.

As an articulation of the assumed individualist, private good case is impossible from a lack of response, the possibility of deconstructing the argument and approaching the pieces from a democratic perspective is likewise impossible. The issue seems likely to remain a thorn in the side of Old Mills politics (and the politics of similar communities) unless the kind of a dialogue aimed for in this study is successfully opened and facilitated.

What do you think of when you think of planning? (15). This question was intended to help gauge the impressions of citizens about planning in general. I intentionally did not limit the question to planning as defined in towns' planning by-laws; the intent was to see how people responded to the freedom to describe planning for themselves.

A number of people did list concerns related to the profession of planning. Two people's answers were limited to zoning. Others were "future residential and commercial growth," "environment, health, convenience for the majority," and "allowing for development in a systemized way to allow for expanding population and needs but be diligent in the protection of natural resources, land preservation and the general rural character of the community."

Two people listed the very concrete five-year projects and plans as their reference points. Several also took a less official view but were progressive, advocating "a design for future use," "anticipating future needs and concerns and doing something about them now," and "being prepared for a variety of situations because thought has been given to these potential situations and they have been discussed."

Other respondents were more general in their thinking, citing "looking ahead" and "rational thinking;" one thought, somewhat cryptically, that planning is "more necessary at some times than others." One stated, "I really don't know what 'planning' is all about."

How do you feel about planning in general? (14). Ten people responded affirmatively; eight were strongly in favor, calling it necessary for many reasons: "To assure regulated growth, "to look ahead--such as what to do when landfill is closed, where to put more recycling centers, "avoid serious future problems; avoid having to act in haste when a situation develops, and "to prevent random developments," an interesting phrase.

Two of the people who responded to this question had negative comments, one urging more use of common sense, one assessing the current state of planning as "not too great."

Only one person sat on the fence of advocacy, saying that planning "can be good or bad--too much restriction may hinder growth potential of any town; must have options."

Are there particular planning issues you feel strongly about? What are they and what do you feel about them? (14). Eight people responded affirmatively; the issues were diverse. Three referred to enhancing the infrastructure; expanding the wastewater treatment plant, repairing and perhaps expanding the main town bridge, and waste disposal and the water supply in general.

Three referred to zoning issues: One included a plea to protect the environment as the base of "the rest" of human activity; another, "restricting unneeded shopping areas and stores--keep downtown viable;" and a third, protecting open space by "restricting commercial growth to a

limited area, but large enough to induce business potential."

One person found strong feeling about a variety of subjects: "Protect environment, scenic qualities; educational needs, health, economic, recreational, housing, cultural issues."

Six people responded negatively. Comments included, "I never see any long-range plans in print; it's always just a game of catch-up or pare down the budget" and "sorry--I feel a planning board is a group of people wasting their time."

One person mentioned a need for a full-time town manager, an issue which has been before the Town for some time.

What do you see as the role of the town Planning Board? (13). Remarkably, no one gave the textbook answer, "to administer the town's planning by-laws," and only one person mentioned zoning. This result has important implications for the town Planning Board, as the majority of respondents see its role as broader than its charge. Recalling from Chapter Five that Shays Town initiated a Long Range Planning Committee as the result of a similar concern, it may be the case that Old Mills is ready for a similar long-term planning committee which responds more directly to people's concerns than simply administering the planning by-laws.

Several people considered it oriented to the future: One called for "long-range planning; adjustment of short-term goals and long-range goals as things change." Others saw as Planning Board roles "find out if future plans [should be] questioned;" "planning for the future;" "projecting development with options for future use;" and "trying to foresee problems."

Three people mentioned concerns about the planning process, one respondent fortuitously calling for voter education as an adjunct to plan and zoning by-law preparation, one finding a conflict resolution role appropriate, and one stressing the leadership capabilities of the Planning Board in discussing and organizing the planning process.

Only one person mentioned preservation in this section, wanting the Planning Board to "assure that the natural beauty of Old Mills is preserved."

One respondent was critical, wanting the Planning Board to act as a community economic development commission and "instigate new growth, mainly commercial, rather than just act on matters brought before them and be more open minded to 'cottage' industries operating out of homes."

One thought that the Planning Board ought to broaden its scope to include considering the financial impact of planning decisions on the tax-payer, traditionally the province of the Finance Committee.

Do you think anything about planning is happening that shouldn't be? (13). Seven people replied affirmatively, that is, that they are dissatisfied; one thinks it a waste of time (as above); one commented that "I don't know of any planning; let me see something in writing in English, not 'bureaucratese'," another that "planners sometimes spend more on frivolous appearance than on actual improvements;" another thought planning was too costly, and another did not comment. One was sympathetic to planning, saying that "there just isn't enough of it."

Four people responded negatively; three responded that they "don't know."

Do you think anything about planning should be happening that isn't? (10). Six people responded affirmatively. Two declined to elaborate; one said that planning "should be happening, but isn't;" one mentioned stimulating business growth; one repeated the plea that planners communicate in English and not "bureaucratese;" and one mentions the Clesson Brook study discussed in Chapter Five: "I hope that the study commissioned by...the Conway School of Design is being carefully reviewed and that the recommendations from the report are being considered, [for example, a] change in zoning to allow for cluster housing and preserve road frontage and open space."

Two people responded negatively; one was unsure, and one reiterated the opinion that "a planning board is a group

of people wasting their time," though the reason was left unstated.

Have you been involved in any planning issues previously? Which ones? (17). Fifteen people responded negatively to this question.

Two people responded affirmatively; one attended "some meetings with a group discussing alternative zoning laws" (possibly the Clesson Brook Valley study); one cited a relationship with a person involved in town affairs in which planning issues were regularly discussed.

Have you ever felt you needed information you couldn't get on a planning issue? (12). Ten people answered in the negative; one hadn't "thought about it." This suggests either a high degree of satisfaction or a low degree of demand, (or some combination of the two) with the dissemination of planning information.

The one affirmative answer was worldly: "Yes, but that's normal--most of the interesting information isn't available, e.g., who's doing illegal dumping, which toxins, etc."

Community Development

How much of the money you spend weekly do you spend in Old Mills? (19). This question was intended to explore the strength of the local economy. As Morgan (1943) and Meeker-

Lowry (1988) point out, the more economic activity there is, including cash flow, within a local economy, the less subject that local economy is to fluctuations in the outside economy. Old Mills is, by this measure, not well protected from changes in the outside economy.

This was the only multiple choice question in the survey. There were four possible answers: Over 1/2; about 1/2; about 1/4; less than 1/4.

Thirteen respondents chose "less than 1/4," showing that a good deal of the money brought into the community through personal income left the town quickly. It must be noted, though, that the commercial center of town shares the village Pocumtuck with an adjacent town, so that while the proportion of money recycled in Pocumtuck is probably significantly higher (the other town having many more businesses), Old Mills itself loses in this exchange.

Three respondents chose "about 1/4" and two chose "over 1/2," but one of those included Pocumtuck.

<u>If the Town had a (non-profit) credit union to loan money to people in Old Mills (for both personal and business reasons), would you open an account? (18)</u>. Six people responded affirmatively without qualification; seven people responded negatively.

Three people responded "probably," one adding that Pocumtuck area already has two banks, the other saying that

it would be just a token account, as he already had one at work.

Two responded generally affirmatively, one's participation depending on comparable interest rates, one's, who is not on a fixed income, on the availability of discretionary funds.

Two people responded who were on fixed incomes; one affirmatively, one negatively, and each saying that their resources were too meager to open another account.

<u>If there were a buying cooperative in town, would you use it? (19)</u>. Twelve people responded affirmatively; two had caveats, about prices and stock.

Four people responded negatively, each giving no reason. Two were unsure, and one did not know what a buying cooperative is.

<u>Should the Town find ways to make it more affordable for people on fixed incomes to obtain affordable housing? (18)</u>. Fifteen people responded affirmatively. There were some caveats: "If needed and asked for;" "probably, but I wouldn't like the consequences (i.e., lots of 'tickytacky' on minuscule lots so developers can make lots of money doing it)."

Several people mentioned the elderly: "Yes, [for] senior citizens or [find ways they can] keep the homes they already own;" "yes, pertaining to the elderly and they

should be screened more closely to prevent their transferring money and property to other names so they can take advantage of low income benefits."

One person suggested including "not just those who are senior citizens but to expand it to those permanently on disability."

Three people responded negatively, all without comment.

Should the Town find ways to make it affordable for people who grew up in Old Mills to find affordable housing? (18). Though I misphrased the question, people seemed to respond to the question I had intended to ask, namely, should the Town find ways for natives of the Town to find affordable housing in the town.

Eight people responded affirmatively, one adding, "yes, and I'm not going into political 'ways and means': it won't happen without major societal changes." One countered, with insight, "whether you grew up in Old Mills is really not point: affordable housing should be available for those who work in the area."

Nine people responded negatively. Comments included, "no, I can see a lot of problems--like passing money to other relatives through trusts, etc. in order to qualify" (not from the person who answered the question above similarly); "the Town shouldn't differentiate."

There seemed to be no correlation between the length of residence in town and either an affirmative or negative

answer, though the mean age for those answering affirmatively was 62, versus 53 for those answering negatively.

One person didn't understand the problem of people who grow up in rural communities not being able to continue living in that community, answering "what difference does that make? No."

One person raised the question of whether such a program would be discriminatory, and decided it wouldn't, but didn't answer the question.

Should Old Mills find ways to guarantee the place of farming in the local economy? (19). Seventeen people answered this question affirmatively; two were equivocal, adding "if possible" and "but it's probably impossible for the town to do very much to save local agriculture."

There was one "no" and one request for detail: "What do you mean by 'guarantee': It is a very important element in a town's economy and steps should be taken to include it."

Should Old Mills look at energy efficiency as a way to save money? (18). Seventeen people answered affirmatively; three added comments, one focusing on street lights, one limiting the search to the "energy efficiency of town properties," and one adding, "further, [we] should look at

energy efficiency for environmental reasons even if it doesn't save (unless [it's] too costly).

One person noted that some work has already been done in this area.

Do you recycle? Has recycling made your life better? (19). Ten people answered affirmatively to both parts of the question. Comments about the second part included, "it's made me 'feel' good;" "it's a nightmare! But I feel good, good, good about it;" "[I gain] peace of mind by doing what I can to help the environment."

Two people weren't sure how they felt about recycling making their lives better; one noted, "no, it's a pain, but I feel it's well worth the effort; should have started 20 years ago;" "I recycle and enjoy every minute of it!"

Four people answered that though they recycled, they do not feel their lives are better for doing it. Comments included a picture of Yankee frugality, "yes; no effect on my life--live alone and burn all boxes, etc, so have little to recycle, although a neighbor takes glass and cans each week," and a hint for the Town: "Recycling sheds sited too far from the population: [For] the elderly and people with no car, [to] hire recyclables [to be] picked up [is] expensive."

Do you see Old Mills as being a better town ten years from now or not? Why? (17). Only three people answered

optimistically, and even these were weak. One respondent commented, "I certainly hope so but it's hard to predict as our national priority continues to be greed--growth and development at any cost to insure more jobs and profits. Should we have a change in national priorities maybe we'll have a chance."

Another saw a "gradual improvement" and a third simply asked "why not?"

Three people saw their town as being essentially the same as it is now. Comments included the tradition-minded, "I see it as holding same values" and the sardonically corresponding, "I think Old Mills will stay stagnant at least that long."

One person tried to sound optimistic, but eventually wrote a worried comment based on the Town's fiscal problems (unfortunately not offering any structural solutions): "Probably same, with some new families buying land and building homes. Right now town is trying desperately to pay its bills and keep education at a high school level by keeping good teachers. Parents trying to help by raising funds for sports, music, etc., with planned fund-raisers. Worked to keep swimming pool going with lessons for children although it's 25 years old and needs repairs."

Seven people were pessimistic. Three based their concerns on development pressures: "I believe the town will become a tourist town losing a lot of its present charm;" "more people and more development make the town's character

change;" "growing pains will be quite acute at various times over next ten years."

Two were simply pessimistic in general, one stating that "If we are [to be] better, it is by luck: I don't see any long term plans looking to make the town better."

Two offered specifics reasons for their pessimism, the first due to local conditions; "community spirit, concern for public good, personal involvement in town affairs are not keeping pace with problems that arise;" the second due to state economic conditions; "we can't keep putting school budgets on real estate taxes alone. With less state aid we keep ending up with less and less general services."

Two respondents were neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but presented conditions necessary for positive development: "I believe that when we choose new leaders who will not dictate, Old Mills will continue to grow;" "what will make Old Mills or any town better is the economy of the area. This requires a slow growth where planning is design (sic) to enhance new development. Done correctly the town can be better."

Responses by Question: Shays Town

On August 12, 1992 I sent surveys to 145 Shays Town residents, as in Old Mills, one out of every seven voters on the town list (see Appendix B). I received 22 responses for a 15 percent response rate (compared with 12 percent in Old Mills), again, a low but reasonable rate. One response was

returned with the cover letter and consent form missing; missing also was the reverse side of the cover letter, which included the general questions and the questions on the "Shays Town Community Development: What Next?" series. The total number of responses is again given after the questions, in parentheses.

General Questions

How old are you? (20). The mean age of the respondents was just over 49. There was no median; the two most central ages in this respect were 45 and 49.

Two people were over 70; only one was under 32.

How long have you or your family lived in Shays Town? (20). The mean period of residence was 17 years, the median 18. Only two had lived in the town over 25 years; 11 (half) had lived in town between 15 and 25 years. One respondent's family has lived in town for over 200 years. Again, given the ages, most respondents were not natives.

Have you ever been involved in Town affairs (other than Town Meeting)? How and when? (19). Nine people answered affirmatively; six have been active in multiple arenas. Four have been involved with the school, and a surprising four have been members of the Historical Commission; three listed activity in Scouting, which is more of a community than a Town affair. Other areas of involvement were in Town

politics and services (former Moderator, Town Democratic Committee, Arts Council, ambulance service), the Planning Board, Friends of the Library, the Food Pantry, and Little League (again, a community affair).

One respondent served as a consultant once on a matter related to his expertise; one answered, "not really; only when something concerns me deeply and close to home."

Six people answered negatively.

What do you value most about Shays Town? (20). As in Old Mills, people and the land were by far the most mentioned amenities. The answers listing people seemed more about community than individuals; diversity and tolerance were listed as amenities by six people, and diversity was seen in several dimensions--generally, in occupation, and in ideas. The small town atmosphere and its values were mentioned by three people, one adding that "a person counts more in this community rather than a big city," another that traditional town values are, specifically, "Honesty, Trust, Fellowship, and Respect for each other." Peace and quiet were mentioned by three people; volunteerism by one.

Thirteen people included both social and natural factors; three stressed agriculture, including Shays Town's "agricultural roots and history" and "the family farm," and four used the term "rural." Three others mentioned "farmers," "country atmosphere," or "open space."

A sense of community was included by three people, one citing the New England tradition of free travel over privately held property: "As far as I want to walk in any direction, I do not feel I'm trespassing or taking an advantage I wouldn't offer in return."

The word "beauty" was used by seven people.

Two people liked its location, "within reach of activities of other towns."

Is what you value most changing? How? (19). Eleven people answered this affirmatively; several gave extensive comments.

Four people cited increased building in undeveloped areas as a negative force; two noted the pressures on farmers. Two people mentioned an increase in traffic, another sign of development pressures.

Two people mentioned a clash between newer and older residents as a function of change, one from each perspective; the older resident lamented those "who chose Shays Town as 'home' and soon after they arrive they want to change something, [having] no respect for Shays Town roots and history." The newer resident saw the older residents as a conservative block standing in the way of any change. These really complementary perspectives may be inevitable in a changing town.

Another complaint against newcomers was lodged by a respondent who noted that newcomers often "want city

services when we've been able to get by without on a smaller tax base."

Five people answered negatively, that is, what they value most is not changing. One wrote, "no, not really--the mix has [been] continuously enriched--diversity with natives who continue on or who return combined with newcomers who also value the town, often in ways different from the natives."

Two warned that without action, the town would change for the worse; one mentioned the "fragility" of the environment, one the need for revamped by-laws.

<u>What role does the Town have to play in protecting what you value? (19)</u>. A surprising seven people mentioned planning specifically in answering this question. Comments included, "essential that a 'long-term plan for development' be adopted;" "zoning, environmental protection;" "possibly by preventing frequent subdivision;" "careful growth regulated by zoning/planning: Protection of farming and open space as much as practical;" "I think 'planning' is a vital process that all town members should hold dear--I'm afraid I'm guilty of not participating as much as I should;" "through the Planning Board, through promoting low-income housing." Another respondent also alluded to the topic of low-income housing as well.

Four spoke of town processes. A former moderator wrote of the letter of the law, answering simply, "establish by-

laws." Other comments included, "by doing what it has been doing--addressing concerns and keeping the town informed," "I think the selectmen do a pretty good job for the most part but you can't please all of the people all of the time," and "[town processes provide the] opportunity to express concern."

Others had specific suggestions; two wanted more support for farmers, one writing "tax assessments [should reflect the financial needs of agriculture]." Another took the opportunity to write that "there should be a by-pass of the village of heavy truck traffic."

One person reflected on the individual's responsibilities; "we believe quite a lot of people in this town preserve and save the environment on a daily basis."

Two respondents were pessimistic, one answering, "virtually none: It's probably too late anyway;" the other, "I don't know. What do you suppose they can do? They might regulate somehow, but they can't stop [negative change]. Trying would be silly." Note that in this last reply, the town is conceived as "they" rather than "we." This fundamental dichotomy may lie at the root of the disempowerment evident in the answer.

The "Shays Town Community Development--What Next" Meetings

Did you know about these meetings? If so, how did you hear about them? (19). Thirteen of the respondents reported that they had heard about the meetings. Twelve of them saw

notices in one of two papers; additionally, word of mouth and the flyers were mentioned.

One respondent answered negatively though I had told him myself in a conversation at the local general store; apparently his vociferousness at the time did not translate into a durable civic memory.

Five others answered negatively; three did not answer.

If you heard about them, did the meetings sound interesting? Why or why not? (12). Seven people responded affirmatively to this question, some commenting on the "opportunity to talk about the future," and the "large number of important issues being discussed."

Three people responded negatively to this question; eleven people did not respond, or responded n/a.

If you knew about the meetings and were interested, what kept you from coming? (17). Twelve people responded to this question. Four people listed limited available time; three, problems in securing child care. The timing was bad for two people, one person was out of town, and one had personal reasons for not attending.

One person questioned whether this was part of the work of the Long-Range Planning Committee, a not entirely unwelcome confusion as it shows a recognition that this work was topically related.

Surprisingly, I received four cynical answers. One respondent abdicated civic responsibility, stating, "I feel the future of the town should be in the hands of the younger generation. The older people should be used for advice, but real action should be planned and taken by the young generation. It is their misfortune to have to deal with those created by we, the older generation."

The other cynical answers included the oddly prejudicial "too much arguing and no real results;" the melancholy "I can't remember what excuse I used at the time. I feel sometimes one person's voice really isn't heard in the crowd. Some only hear what one wants to hear;" and the apathetic "turned off by Town affairs--not because they are not vital, but because I personally have lost interest in the political process."

Town Meeting

Do you normally go to Town Meeting? For how long out of the day? (21). Twelve people responded affirmatively to the first part of the question, eight of them saying that they attended the entire session. Three people said that the time they spend depends on the issues and their positions on the warrant.

Four people said they sometimes attend, but not on a regular basis. One person mentioned the need for child care.

Four people also answered simply "no."

Did you attend the latest annual Town Meeting? If not, why not? (21). Ten people responded affirmatively to this question.

Eleven people responded negatively. Reasons included lack of child care, a business deadline, work hours (two people), lack of time, and absence from the town.

Two people listed emotional reasons, "too stressed listening to people without a known past" and "I do not wish to do battle publicly nor does it help my attitude to watch and listen to other people doing the same."

What do you see as the role of Town Meeting in community development? (21). Three people chose the legally correct answer, mentioning debate and voting on warrant articles. One of them also included the benefits of personal interaction and more general discussion.

Two people responded directly to the question, answering "to upgrade or downgrade town services to meet the needs of the changing community" and "to reach a consensus about how much development is desirable."

The idea of Town Meeting as a place to discuss issues (versus debating articles) was broadly held, listed by eleven people. Typical comments included: "It is the only time your point of view is heard. If you can take the time to go and vote don't sit home and complain later;" "a chance to hear various points of view" and its collateral, "everyone has a chance to express an opinion;" "opportunity

for face-to-face sharing, explaining points of view, asking questions."

The educational aspect of Town Meeting was mentioned by four people, answers including "news dispersal, issue education;" "addressing new ideas, keeping up to date on issues;" and making "all residents aware of problems and future plans and possible financial projects in the long term planning." One person wrote that for Town Meeting to work well, it is "essential that smaller, more intimate discussions precede it to allow for more efficiency."

Two people responded in a negative vein, one saying that newcomers have a tendency do treat property rights lightly, the other, perceptively but cynically, "to form more lame committees to hash over more ideas for more grants to get more money to make life back to what it was back in the forties and fifties only with the tax base and services of the nineties."

Are there any issues not covered in Town Meeting that you would like to address? (19). Eleven people answered negatively (and seven did not answer). This could mean a high degree of content with the current form, though the opposite may also be true; as one person wrote, "no, many too many are covered now: questions should be limited to empowerment of selectmen only." A different and probably more usual opinion was also stated: "No, you can put anything on the warrant."

Four people had specific suggestions: "There should not be a water district: it should be a Town project;" "master plans are not usually presented or in fact considered;" and "tax breaks for low income people with no children in schools [and] retired people." One person wrote that "[action for] children with special needs and access for the disabled should be [considered and taken] more," again, a concern which may be acted on as the implications of the Americans with Disabilities Act for Town Meetings become clearer.

Planning

What do you think of when you think of planning? (22). Thirteen people responded affirmatively regarding planning as a town function. Six people included comments on long range planning, five people also mentioned issues in growth management as concerns, and five people included issues relating to town character. All of these seem to be signs that the activities of the Long Range Planning Committee had a lasting effect. One person commented, "a community needs planning to avoid becoming merely an object...in profit-making schemes," meaning in this case real estate speculation, but usefully pointing to the general economic dependence of towns on outside forces.

Three people included comments about democracy or the need for citizen participation.

One person mentioned the need to plan for the provision of access to civic functions for people experiencing physical challenges, once more demonstrating the challenge to towns to comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Others mentioned clarifying values, policy development, priority setting, housing for elderly, designing the future, and allowing for low-income community members.

Negative comments included, "no snob zoning;" "no I think of planning as to the future but live [one] day at a time and really have enough on my mind today without worry of tomorrow;" "not a lot consultant to tell the truth, I think of several willing but amateur 'planners,' each with a personal preference or an ax to grind, working with great energy and glacial speed, to develop a series of ideas that are probably not feasible;" "no someone else telling us what to do with 150 acres and a mile of frontage;" and, "yes but basically it's a few active people plotting to take rights from the unsuspecting without any consideration of paying for those rights." It is interesting to note that three of these have never involved themselves with town affairs (from general question 3), one has only given professional advice on one matter, and one has been involved but declined to elaborate.

One person simply responded, "school, police station, park," showing that citizens may expect more from planners than town by-laws include.

How do you feel about planning in general? (21). Sixteen people responded favorably to this question about attitudes, and there were several insightful comments, such as the prudent "surprises regarding land/building use are not to be encouraged;" the self-aware "if a community doesn't plan for itself, it will lose its definition/character and become merely an aggregation of individuals;" and this welcome perspective, "I am pleased that so many citizens are actively involved."

Four people responded negatively. From the person who wrote earlier of "willing but amateur planners" came the comment "when a person talks about 'planning' he or she often means that which is satisfactory to him or her, not that which can be implemented or controlled or is satisfactory, taking the nature of the world into consideration." Another wrote, "meetings, committees, more meetings; anger, resentment, whose pocket is lined before the rest get their fair share."

Are there particular planning issues you feel strongly about? (20). Six people mentioned farming or rurality and three mentioned open space preservation; only one mentioned both, indicating a possible lack of a sense of the integration of the two issues. One interesting comment was, "My sense is that agriculture in the Northeast, in Massachusetts, needs the type of active support that consumers, retailers and legislation (such as APR) can

provide and that there may be a future dividend for the region if whatever agriculture can thrive, does thrive." A farmer had the unfortunate idea that land trusts are inimical to agriculture: "I find it very hard to figure land trusts, when no one cares more than a farmer." (In fact, the Loomis Farm of the Franklin Land Trust has resulted in the preservation of a great deal of farmland.)

Three people included housing issues, one linking cluster zoning to open space preservation; another championed social diversity. Two people mentioned educational issues, again apparently asking more of planners than planners might expect.

Some comments were cynical, including "lopsided 'environmentals'-- county planners who have no mental capabilities toward logic campaigning for extreme issues."

Do you think anything about planning is happening that shouldn't be, or that anything about planning should be happening that isn't? (17). Four people answered negatively, showing either a basic contentment or a desire for a more laissez-faire planning policy.

Out of the twelve who wrote substantial comments, seven wanted more planning. Three wanted the recommendations of the Long Range Planning Committee approved. Other comments included advocacy of small business development, "in recognition of [the] high percentage of [the] self-employed and their positive impact on character of town, local

businesses and artisans, farm and wood products business, etc., should be encouraged," and a recognition of the problem of getting qualified candidates for local public office, "I feel that small towns, run essentially through volunteer effort, can and are being overwhelmed by fast moving development and demographic forces."

Of the negative comments, three were anti-planning; "Planning should look more to buying rights than stealing them;" "the populace of this town should not get to plan who gets to live where and who doesn't;" and "the Franklin Land Trust has built more houses and put more kids in our schools than any developer in the history of Shays Town." This last statement is countered by the Franklin Land Trust's assertion that its development of the Loomis Farm resulted in only nine new house lots instead of the forty-three allowed under current regulations, which would probably be much more profitable for a traditional developer (Zenick, 1988).

Additionally, one respondent was generally cynical, "don't get me started. We the small masses can't change the system no matter what means we try; for the most part I'm a bit close-minded on this one," and one stated, "planning is politics."

Have you been involved in any planning issues previously? Which ones? (19). Nine people answered affirmatively, though three of these included educational

planning as their focus of involvement. Three mentioned the work of the Long Range Planning Committee. Others mentioned work in the wastewater treatment issue, the finance committee, and personal interactions with the planning board.

Ten people responded negatively.

Have you ever felt you needed information you couldn't get regarding a planning issue? What did you do? (16). This question elicited a variety of confusing answers, though seven people simply answered "no."

A few responses were similarly straightforward; "no, I have felt always that information is accessible here--by phone or in person;" "we have lots of resource people and agencies available to those who are interested;" and "contact town officials."

Some hinted at issues without identifying them: "Research on other similar situations;" and "called federal offices and spent a lot of time only to realize that no answers are known: county planners were adding hype just to sell their own importance."

Other, less tractable comments included, "Yes: I once read in the Greenfield Recorder an article from Washington warning small towns about snob zoning and passed some law--no one has ever heard of this;" "I don't think that, in Shays Town, there is any problem about getting information about anything whatsoever; just go to the store. Now,

whether the information is correct and/or unbiased is another question;" and, "the sewer issue was full of holes."

Community Development

How much of the money you spend weekly do you spend in Shays Town? (20). Only one person answered "over 1/2."

Three people answered "about 1/4;" fourteen people reported that they spend less than 1/4 of their money in town. As with Old Mills, this suggests that Shays Town is not well protected from changes in the outside economy.

Are there any new businesses or town functions you would like to see in Shays Town? What are they? (16). Six people declined to answer this question; one responded negatively.

Five people mentioned their desire for a banking facility; the town has none now.

Four people listed a restaurant or cafe; one has recently been operated out of the local store but was, ironically, too successful; the owner decided to quit that line of business so that his primary line, that of a general store, could be better maintained. No one has capitalized on this opportunity at this time.

Two others also had food-related concerns; one wanting a buying cooperative (though an informal one does exist currently, according to some citizens), the other wanting a

farm stand or a better selection of fresh vegetables than the local store offers.

Other suggestions included: More cottage industries; better opportunities to dispose of hazardous waste and batteries; a good farm equipment business; more entertainment opportunities; a dry cleaning operation; a laundromat; and a day care for children with special needs.

One respondent stated, "Shays Town makes it very hard for new business. I had to buy a hardware store to put in a flower shop."

<u>If the town had a (non-profit) credit union to loan money to people and businesses in Shays Town, would you open an account? If not, why not? (20)</u>. Ten people responded affirmatively to this question, and three others responded, "probably," "yes, if the need arose," and "possibly; I already belong to the UMass Credit Union." Taken with the perceived need for a banking facility from the question above, a credit union in Shays Town might receive broad public support.

Two responded cautiously, one mentioning the need for good insurance protection.

Three people responded negatively on the grounds that they don't borrow, though they did not say that they didn't lend, perhaps misconstruing the purpose of the question.

Only one person responded simply "no;" the others were unsure.

Should the Town find ways to make it affordable for people on fixed incomes to obtain affordable housing? Why or why not? (20). Ten people answered with an unqualified affirmative answer, three mentioning the income diversity of its residents, one mentioning the need for related support services such as transportation.

Six more responded affirmatively with qualifications. Comments included, "whether the town does or not, I think people of all economic ranges should be able to enjoy a place like Shays Town;" "for people who are already a part of the community that sounds good. The tricky part would be in the specifics;" "I would like to see rather strict rules on who gets aid...I've seen people refusing to help themselves and getting a great deal through the Franklin County Regional Housing Authority. In the past I probably would have given an unqualified 'yes' before I've seen how such a system can be abused by intelligent, capable, people;" and one who would need community education, "I would need to know more about the problem: How many are there on fixed income? How many of those need housing?"

Two people responded negatively, writing "the town should not find ways BUT, the town should not make it unaffordable as it is now," and one simply denying the need, "no--we have affordable housing."

One respondent was especially unwilling to consider the question as asked, demanding (rather than supplying) several definitions, of "fixed income," pointing out that "there are

all kinds of fixed incomes which do not carry the need for 'affordable housing';" of "find ways," asking "should we tithe? Raise taxes? Invite GM to build a plant? What are 'ways'?" and of "affordable."

Should the town find ways to make it affordable for people who grew up in Shays Town to find affordable housing in town? Why or why not? (21). Nine people answered this question with unqualified affirmation, three of them strongly. One suggested establishing "a properly supervised trailer park so some of our young people can afford a home until they can build a home."

Four people answered with a qualified affirmation. One was in favor but, seemingly oxymoronically, wanted no increase in the number of housing units; two cited the need for more information.

Three people answered negatively; two repeated their comments to the last question. One wrote that such an arrangement would become corrupt in a small town.

There were several other kinds of responses. One commented, "it is sad that people who grow up in Shays Town might not be able to afford living there as adults. Again, I don't know what the vehicle is to guarantee affordable housing. It makes me uneasy to put all responsibility on the Town when the Town has no extra money or resources: The whole economy needs to be restructured!" Another wrote that this would be "a large order for a Town to take on--not

convinced this should be added to the Town government responsibilities!" One was taken, perhaps a bit far, by the idea: "It would help but where is this going to happen and in whose back yard (condos); maybe a highrise-lowrise or underground bunker--whoa, getting a bit crazy."

The respondent who brought up bringing in GM in the last question again objected to my suggestion that the town could indeed find a way to have this happen by commenting, "what do you want me to do? I'll 'find a way': I'll hold up Brinks! Anybody can say, 'Sure, go find ways'. It doesn't mean anything."

Another wrote of the difficulties in deciding eligibility: "How do you define 'grew up'? Born here? Grandparents buried here? Moved away but came back? Summered here? Owned land only? State kids shipped here? Step kids?"

Should Shays Town find ways to guarantee the place of farming in the local economy? Why or why not? (21). Fourteen people responded affirmatively to this question, and there were many thoughtful comments, including two comments on self-reliance, "tax breaks for farmers are totally in line. Besides enhancing our 'feel' for the place that is Shays Town, if Shays Town, Massachusetts or New England become totally dependent on external sources of food (be it California or Mexico) our existence will be that much more fragile and alienated;" and "to maintain character,

diversity, beauty of town, and to encourage more self-sufficiency of the town." A farmer wrote, "my family's farm is taxed as building lots instead of farm land." Another respondent commented, "yes--it helps the hungry in Shays Town."

Five respondents were generally sympathetic. One wanted a definition of "guarantee;" another wrote that "guarantee is a little strong, but certainly farming should be encouraged" as part of preserving the town's character.

Two wanted open space in general preserved but had reservations about preserving local agriculture: "I have a problem with subsidizing businesses that cannot compete in the marketplace and would rather buy farmland outright for open space;" "I would hate to see Shays Town lose local farms but I don't feel that farms themselves should somehow receive special status and become the privileged few of Shays Town...."

One wrote bitterly, "close farms are very poor neighbors. They stink, have flies, are noisy, and require high-tech for any chance of survival. The stupid, money'd imports who move here because of the pretty views (now gone) would not understand true farming. Massachusetts has already legally banned farming."

The lengthy response from a farmer is worth quoting extensively:

> We are 5th generation dairy. Should Shays Town find ways to save farmers? It won't help a business that the government regulates. It

doesn't matter what town your farm is in. Farming is Large Business; they handle more money than any other business in town. Most people in this town have no idea what it is about: $20,000 a cow in some cases. Is it fair that you pay the same price we do for a tractor, when in my business you can buy it wholesale? 20 years ago there were fifty people selling milk in Shays Town; now there are five. We take great pride in our land, but no one knows what it costs to keep land open, to spend $5,000 or more on vet bills, to have half your check every two weeks go for grain, and then to own land and have someone who rents try to pass by-laws saying you can't build or sell more than one lot.

We have worked harder than anyone to keep our land open. Every time a farm goes out of business some other farmer puts on twenty more cows because he has to pay his bills. [In] what other business does someone put a price on your product? Shays Town can't help the farmers. Someone has got to pay us more than $1 a gallon. We can't produce it for that.

A state inspector stopped at a farm in town and told the farmer that GE in Pittsfield had just laid off 300 people. He asked if that bothered him and he said it really didn't concern him. The inspector told him that if he went out of farming, it probably wouldn't bother those 300 people either; catch 22. People are too busy to care. APR [the state agricultural preservation restriction program to buy development rights of farms to keep taxes low--THE] a quick fix for this generation. What do our grandchildren have? Land they can't sell.

Another respondent wrote cynically, "sure, issue every family a plow and pay for it out of the highway budget. How do you 'find ways' to guarantee anything as risky as farming in the late twentieth century? That's like 'save the Family Farm.' How? Everybody will do everything they can to save the family farm except pay the prices that buying from a family farm will cost. That's realism."

Should Shays Town look at energy efficiency as a way to save money? (20). Seven people answered strongly in the affirmative; six others answered simply "yes."

One affirmation was tempered by realism, "by all means, but Town Hall has its hands in its pockets."

Two qualified their affirmation, one aesthetically, "if it can be done without marring the older buildings or landscape;" one financially, "but how much to pay in order to save?"

One negative answer was really a strong positive answer, "no--they should look at it as a bigger picture of environmental issues." There was one other negative answer.

One wrote, "they have," which I found was true, though in a limited way.

There was also this emotionally packed, alienated, and almost frantic response: "Whose energy efficiency? The town's? How will that save money? What do we do, buy small, slow fire trucks? I don't understand."

Do you recycle? (21). Twenty people responded affirmatively, one proudly, one "vigorously." Another response is essentially positive, though the respondent may be using the definition of recycling common to environmental professions, that recycling includes the reuse of recycled products bought in the marketplace: "I separate trash and use whatever possible for other uses. I doubt that I

'recycle' though. It just gets hauled away in different trucks."

One person did not respond.

How often do you use the library? (21). Only three people replied that they never use the library. Other responses ranged from the enthusiastic "constantly" to "rarely." Of those who listed a regular use, the frequency was as follows, and each is a direct quote: Constantly; 3x a week--a regular user; at least two of the three days they're open; I take my children there often, varying from once or twice a week to less[, and] I use it some myself; every week; every week; almost weekly; at least once every two weeks; as often as possible, approximately two times a month, sometimes more; two times a month; twice a month; approximately 2 times a month or so; bi-monthly; once a month.

Three wrote that they used other libraries more, including the Smith and University of Massachusetts libraries and a private research library at a place of employment in Deerfield.

Do you see Shays Town being a better town ten years from now or not? Why? (21). Four people answered with an unqualified affirmative. Three people mentioned the citizenry as reasons, some along with other amenities: "The quality of the people, appreciation of the history of Shays

Town, diversity of occupations and opinions, the number of people willing to be involved;" "we have a very fine, intelligent, committed citizenry;" "because my family moved here and have picked up a lot of things that were dropped some time ago."

Others replied, "it's been a great place for a long time and we've been through lots of controversies: I see no reason to think the town will change radically in the future."

Six people were optimistic but qualified their affirmations. Two people listed overdevelopment as a threat: "If we keep from becoming overdeveloped. Great quality of life;" "only if it coherently, judiciously, sensitively preserves itself as the beautiful town it is now. This may mean that the town should acquire certain tracts of land that are strategically located, simply to preserve them for community enjoyment, or certain buildings, to preserve them for community functions."

Other comments included, "probably--hopefully the Lake and Park area will be improved" and "depends on whether the Town can get a hold of grant monies to afford the sewage system, a new school building, increases in educational funds, etc.;" and "a long range plan is <u>essential</u> to ensure <u>wise progress</u>."

Three people answered negatively, writing, "Shays Town has lost its Love Thy Neighbor. We are a bedroom town, but God forbid if you try to make a dollar;" "Shays Town has

become a rural safe haven for people wishing to escape their urban origins: These same people now wish to stop or in some cases reverse the natural evolution of the town (the term 'now' is best described as when each new resident establishes him or herself in town);" "No, my general impression is that the town is just 'hanging in there.' I guess there are a lot of devoted people in town who are working hard to see Shays Town improve but I think that there are just as many 'spoilers' who just want to see things plod along as they are."

Two replied "don't know" and "can't tell."

Other answers dealt with change from opposing perspectives: "Don't expect much change;" and "it will be a town and it will change."

One answer centered on the definition of better, with the respondent unwilling to define it for himself.

A similar answer was, "'better' is only fads and perceptions more based on personal situation that any town attribute. Loss of freedom and rights seems to be a given as population increases and as bureaucrats pile up regulations."

One respondent wrote this with feeling:

> I have mixed feelings on this....I hope Shays Town can come to terms with itself and weather this storm. I love where I live and plan on being here to see the changes that come about take place. I hope Shays Town as we or I like it will be here for all the people who live here and visit to enjoy for a good long time. I don't have much insight as to where all this is going and to what end but hope only for the best....

Comparison of Categories of Professionals' Survey and Citizens' Surveys

Again, the main categories of suggested citizen competence in professional judgement are (from Chapter Four) 1) general and context awareness and understanding; 2) knowledge of existing state and local planning tools; 3) sense of community/quality of life/democracy; 4) by-laws; 5) knowledge of town process, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning, fiscal; 6) zoning; 7) citizen participation/involvement; 8) budget and fiscal; 9) environmental protection; 10) water and wetlands; 11) long-term planning; 12) open space; 13) regionalization; 14) aesthetics; 15) citizen skills; 16) farmland preservation; 17) recycling and waste; 18) environmental ethics; and 19) public-private cooperation.

To these have been added the categories of transportation-related items (20), internal board affairs (21), media (22), community education (23), intergovernmental affairs (24), and economic factors (25), from Chapters Six and Seven. New categories derived from the survey for this chapter include issues of concerns for both planners and community development in general: Development pressures (26), communication (27), education (28), town character (as a planning concern, distinct from quality of life) (29), housing (30), infrastructure (other than waste and water) (31), and access (for the disabled) (32).

Much of the correspondence between survey responses and the categories derived in Chapter Four from professionals' opinions results from the questions themselves, which were in part based on the Chapter Four categories. This can be seen especially in the questions about involvement in Town affairs and Town Meeting (corresponding to the category of citizen participation and involvement); what respondents value (corresponding to sense of community and quality of life); questions about planning (leading respondents to include planning terms, some of which, such as zoning, are categories); and the questions on community development (linked to economic factors and housing).

This leads to a caveat which should be considered by the reader when weighing the results below. The major purpose of this survey was to discover what topics citizens thought about, and their attitudes regarding those topics. To keep this study focused on those questions, my own leading questions must not interfere with the interpretation of the responses. So, the following analysis does not include categorical answers to what could be considered leading questions specifically about those categories, as the entirety of the responses could count as instances of the category. Where the respondent spontaneously expresses a categorical item, though, it is included.

For instance, responses to questions about attendance at annual or special Town Meetings and questions about participation in the "What Next?" meetings in Shays Town are

not included, as all of the answers given could count as instances of category seven, citizen participation. There are many instances of the topic of citizen participation arising from the respondents own concerns or at the respondent's own initiative, though, and these are included in the analysis.

Answers specific to questions about planning, community development, what people value, affordable housing, farmland preservation and recycling were likewise not included in the categories of existing planning tools, economic factors, quality of life, housing, farmland preservation, and recycling and waste, as the entirety of responses under these questions could be included as categorical items. Also, though it seems likely that the users of the Shays Town Library view it as an ingredient in their quality of life (category three), I did not count each of the responses regarding use as an instance of that category, as the responses did not take that form.

All of the responses below, therefore, were parts of answers to open-ended questions freely given by the respondents, comments made beyond the necessity of simply answering the questions. This was the sole criterion for ascertaining the relative and combined importance of the various categories of concerns of the respondents.

Responses by Category: Old Mills

Items regarding the importance of knowledge about existing planning tools (category 2) were found most often; fourteen references were made. Respondents desired "proper planning by reasonable, knowledgeable people," "making sure zoning and building codes are enforced and updated when necessary," and "managed growth;" allowance for "future residential and commercial growth," "environment, health, convenience for the majority," and "development in a systemized way to allow for expanding population and needs;" the avoidance of "serious future problems," "having to act in haste when a situation develops," and "random developments;" and the assurance of "regulated growth."

Economic factors (category 25) were the next most cited, with nine cases found. Respondents variously desired a community economic development commission, the stimulation of growth in the business sector, restrictions on "unneeded shopping areas and stores to keep the downtown viable" and on "commercial growth to a limited area, but large enough to induce business potential." One noticed "fewer vacant storefronts and run-down houses, and the growth of the local store," while another wanted a more traditional country store in town. One observed a sword that cuts two ways; "change was slowed because of the high unemployment rate."

Eight instances of the topic of zoning (category 6) were found, both those in favor of its active use to promote their interests and those opposed to this form of regulation

(some of whom seemed opposed to most, if not all, forms of regulation).

Access for the disabled was mentioned eight times, three times by one person, twice by two others, and twice by still others; it has been given a new category, 32. Three of the respondents have found it too difficult to attend meetings because of physical problems (though not all of these might technically be considered disability-related); one noted that access is required by law.

Environmental protection (category 9) was mentioned briefly by six people.

Citizen participation or involvement was mentioned six times, two respondents noting a distinct lack of civic consciousness, one commenting that "people feel that laws don't apply to <u>them</u>, only others." Another noted the need for citizen involvement prior to Town Meeting so that business can be expedited. One respondent asked how to counteract apathy and stimulate more involvement by citizens, a question to which I wish I had a succinct answer, though I believe the answer lies in a political-economic empowerment not yet evinced even in towns with open Town Meetings (see Chapter Nine for a fuller discussion).

Budgetary concerns (category 8) were brought up five times, one respondent writing that planning is too costly, and another that planners should provide an economic assessment of their decisions, traditionally the role of the town finance committee. One linked it with attendance at

Town Meeting, writing that if the proposed budget seemed alright, he wouldn't attend.

Five people wrote about recycling and waste (category 17), concerned especially about pollution, calling for "monitoring seepage from adjacent town dump," "eliminating pollution on the river," and action against "illegal dumping." Others wrote of the wastewater treatment plant and waste disposal and the water supply in general.

Development pressures were mentioned as concerns five times, including increased population, housing, and commercial building, leading to the creation of this category.

Another new category, communication (27), was derived primarily because of the importance of television in the responses. Three people mentioned television specifically (in reference to the local cable channel which televises Town Meeting); two other comments, for a total of five, seemed appropriate for this category as well, the need for a conflict resolution process in town, and the need for a forum "to organize long-term goals and discuss broad ideas," originally suggested for Town Meeting but a worthwhile concern outside of any particular form.

The beauty of the town, corresponding to category 14, aesthetics, was included in comments by four people. In addition, several people mentioned this under the question "what do you value about Old Mills."

Four people also wrote about the usefulness of their knowledge about existing town functions other than those of planning, fiscal and zoning (category 5). One wrote of the need for a full-time town manager, an issue which has been before the Town recently; one wanted a mechanism to increase the degree of professionalism and professional conduct among town staff, and one was of the opinion that the current Board of Selectmen is "willing to try and get along with other town officials and their own committees," though another wrote that "it is my opinion that decisions are being made that are not consistent with democracy."

The category of long-term planning (11) appeared four times, all of the respondents wanting an officially defined, workable process.

Four instances of comments about the quality of life (category 3) were noted; these were aside from the answers given to the question, "what do you value about Old Mills." One lamented "the predominant growth-at-any-cost mentality," another "the constant threat of lawsuits" which "erodes our children's right to be children." One lauded the citizens of Old Mills for their "community spirit" and their "concern for public good."

Four cases were found of people's writing of the need to protect open space (category 12), notable as the term "open space" is a planning term which has apparently become part of the vocabulary of the active Old Mills citizen.

Three people wrote of their concerns for education, leading to the creation of education as a category (24). Category 23, community education, seemed the appropriate place for two other mentions of education, one being general, and one referring to the need for "voter education."

The idea of town character, growing in use in planning, appeared three times; it has been included as a new category (29).

Two also wrote of concerns about housing (30), both its affordability and the need for more housing to absorb those consequences of economic growth.

One respondent commented on relations between the state and localities (category 20, intergovernmental relations); "with less state aid we keep ending up with less and less general services."

One respondent wrote of by-laws (category 4), one wrote of the infrastructure (specifically, the bridge connecting Old Mills and Pocumtuck), a topic important enough to include as a category (27), one of transportation, included here as category 29, and one of history, which comes under category 1, general context and understanding.

Responses by Category: Shays Town

Long-range planning, category 11, appeared as an item sixteen times, mostly due to comments about the Long-Range Planning Committee and its work; the others were no doubt

also influenced by the work of that Committee. One respondent wanted, specifically, a "long-term plan for development."

Fourteen comments cited concern over the new category of knowledge regarding development pressures (category 26). Five people mentioned issues in growth management; four people cited increased building in undeveloped areas as a negative force; three people mentioned an increase in traffic; one, "fast moving development and demographic forces."

The second greatest number of category responses from the Shays Town survey, 12, concerned, interestingly, citizen participation (category 7). Five responses noted a high degree of citizen participation in Town affairs, though one comment was negative, specifically about getting "qualified candidates for local public [elected] offices." Three other comments simply noted the need for citizen participation. Four people commented on the category cynically, noting their lack of will to participate, one claiming participation is ineffective in producing change.

The next most frequently encountered category was the aesthetics of the town (category 14), appreciated in ten comments, mostly in the question on "what do you value;" the word "beauty" was used eight times.

Town character (category 29), a relatively new concept in planning, appeared as a topic of interest nine times, though not always in those words; this may be in large part

due to the work of the Long-Range Planning Committee; the Center for Rural Massachusetts, prime developers of the concept, also has presented information to the Town.

The term open space was used nine times (category 12), all by respondents speaking in favor of its preservation.

Budgetary and fiscal matters (category 8) were mentioned six times. Four responses dealt with proposed tax breaks; two of these were proposed for agricultural land, one was for "low income people with no children in schools [and] retired people." There were also two comments decrying what was seen as the tendency of newcomers to want to raise taxes for spending on new services. One, in response to a question on the potential for an increase in the town's role in community development, felt that all of the resources of the town--apparently not just the budget--were already stretched to the limit: "It makes me uneasy to put all responsibility on the Town when the Town has no extra money or resources."

A sense of community or the quality of life (category 3) was mentioned in six responses. All of these but one were positive, mentioning such aspects as "the quality of the people," "small town atmosphere," and "peace and quiet." Only one response was negative: "Shays Town has lost its Love Thy Neighbor."

Six responses concerned the new category of community education (23); two people advocated the inclusion of education in town planning, a suggestion which fits in well,

theoretically, with the comprehensive nature of the discipline of planning but which might not be well-received by already overburdened planners. Four comments revolved around Town Meeting as an educational forum, again, and just as unfortunately, an idea which might not find great support among those responsible for completing the business of the Town.

Housing was listed six times, especially affordable housing for those with low incomes; included here also was housing for the elderly. Matters of housing have been assigned the new category, 26.

Six responses referred to zoning, category 6. Two of these were statements in opposition to snob zoning.

Only five occurrences of the category of knowledge of existing planning tools, category 2, were found. Three of these related to the implementation of the recommendations of the Town's Long Range Planning Committee; one involved advocating attention to the Town's master plan.

Five responses also dealt with category 5, knowledge of Town processes; one of these was a recognition that Town government has a long list of responsibilities and that this list should not grow without compelling reasons.

Four people also included an awareness or appreciation of history in their comments, coming under category 1, general context and understanding.

Though many people cited farming as an interest or object of appreciation, only three comments dealt

specifically with its preservation (category 16), noting the pressures on farmers and the need for the protection of farming.

Three comments included waste issues (category 17); two of these dealt with the wastewater, one with hazardous waste and batteries.

Three comments were made about the need for better by-laws (category 4).

Environmental protection (category 9) was listed three times as well, though the context of many other answers seems to indicate that the lack of attention given to this category springs more from over-familiarity than lack of interest.

The topic of access for the disabled, category 28, was mentioned three times; two dealt with general and civic access, one, with access to local education for children with special needs.

Only two comments dealt with economic factors (category 21), one respondent advocating small business development, one hoping the town can "avoid becoming merely an object...in profit-making schemes."

Issues of water (category 10), transportation (29), and state-local coordination (20) were mentioned only once.

Comparison of Responses By Category and Frequency

Citizens' concerns, as expressed at their initiative in the survey, matched the concerns of professionals in kind

but not in degree. Most of the categories from Chapter Four were found in the citizens' responses; categories 13, regionalization; 15, citizen skills; 18, environmental ethics; and 19, public-private cooperation, were not.

The categories most found were 11, long-term planning (probably due to the activities of the Shays Town Long-Range Planning Committee), with 20 responses; 2, knowledge of existing planning tools, with 19 responses; 22, development pressures, a new category; and 7, citizen participation and involvement, with 18 responses.

Table 8 (page 253) shows the number of responses per category for Old Mills and Shays Town, and the totals per category. Tables 9 and 10 (pages 254 and 255) show the categories by frequency of responses, in descending order of the totals, for Old Mills and Shays Town, respectively. Table 11 (page 256) shows the categories in descending order of the totals.

The greatest number of responses from Old Mills came in categories 2, knowledge of existing planning tools, with 14 responses; 21, economic factors, with 9 responses; 6, zoning, with 8 responses; and 28, access for the disabled, with 8 responses.

The fewest, with no responses, came in categories 10, water and wetlands; 13, regionalization; 15, citizen skills; 16, farmland protection; 18, environmental ethics; 19, public-private cooperation; 21, internal board affairs; and 22, media.

The greatest number of responses in Shays Town came from categories 11, long-term planning, with 16 responses; 22, development pressures, with 14 responses; 7, citizen participation and involvement, with 12 responses; 14, aesthetics, with 10 responses; 12, open space, with 9 responses; and 29, town character, with 9 responses.

The fewest, with no responses, came from categories 13, regionalization; 15, citizen skills; 18, environmental ethics; 19, public-private cooperation; 21, internal board affairs, 22, media, 27, communication; and 31, infrastructure. Citizens in Old Mills and Shays Town thus exhibit quite different concerns, and both of these sets of concerns differ from those of the professionals surveyed in Chapter Four. Again, though, these results should not be taken as an indicator of anything but the results of an analysis of people's spontaneous comments, made at their own initiative. It could be, for instance, that different results would obtain if citizens were asked a different set of questions. It must also be recalled that these results do not include responses to questions about particular topics, which in these circumstances would have to be considered leading questions.

There are broad differences of opinion, but two distinct groupings emerge. One expresses a willingness, even a desire, to entertain positive ideas, the other expresses a desire to reject of negative ideas; choosing,

though a choice is unnecessary, either the positive or the negative freedoms.

These positions seem related to optimism and pessimism; here, those who want to use their position as citizens to make their lives better, contrasted with those who want to keep it from getting worse. In any case, people from both clusters vote on the issues in Town Meeting.

Citizens uniformly tend to hold high expectations of their town officials, often asking more of planners than planners expect, sometimes including education planning in their planning scheme.

Citizens' concerns are, for the most part, more general and diffuse than professionals', except where writing specifically about a particular case. This reflects both the comprehensive, holistic nature of local democracy and the general lack of specific technical education. For instance, if professionals working with citizens assume their audience has a good grasp of high school earth science, they could be seriously overestimating.

Table 8

Total Frequency of Citizen Survey Responses, by Category

number of responses:	Old Mills	Shays Town	Total
Category:			
1	1	4	5
2	14	5	19
3	4	6	10
4	1	3	4
5	4	5	9
6	8	6	14
7	6	12	18
8	5	6	11
9	6	3	9
10	0	1	1
11	4	16	20
12	4	9	13
13	0	0	0
14	4	10	14
15	0	0	0
16	0	3	3
17	5	3	8
18	0	0	0
19	0	0	0
20	1	1	2
21	0	0	0
22	0	0	0
23	2	6	8
24	1	1	2
25	9	2	11
26	5	14	19
27	5	0	5
28	3	6	9
29	3	9	12
30	2	6	8
31	1	0	1
32	8	3	11

Table 9

Old Mills Survey Responses, by Category and Frequency

Category:	Number of responses:
2	14
25	9
6	8
32	8
7	6
9	6
8	5
17	5
26	5
27	5
3	4
5	4
11	4
12	4
14	4
28	3
29	3
23	2
30	2
1	1
4	1
20	1
24	1
31	1
10	0
13	0
15	0
16	0
18	0
19	0
21	0
22	0

Table 10

Shays Town Survey Responses, by Category and Frequency

Category:	Number of responses:
11	16
26	14
7	12
14	10
12	9
29	9
3	6
6	6
8	6
23	6
28	6
30	6
2	5
5	5
1	4
4	3
9	3
16	3
17	3
32	3
25	2
10	1
20	1
24	1
13	0
15	0
18	0
19	0
21	0
22	0
27	0
31	0

Table 11

Total Frequency of Citizen's Survey Responses, by Category

Category:	Number of responses:
11	20
2	19
26	19
7	18
6	14
14	14
12	13
29	12
8	11
25	11
32	11
3	10
5	9
9	9
28	9
17	8
23	8
30	8
1	5
27	5
4	4
16	3
20	2
24	2
10	1
31	1
13	0
15	0
18	0
19	0
21	0
22	0

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Summary

This study was undertaken to help illuminate the intertwined issues of education, planning, and citizen participation. I posed twin questions: What do citizens need to know in order to satisfy their needs and aspirations, especially through effective participation in local democracy and planning, and how can, and do, citizens effect this community education for participatory development?

There were three major parts to this study: Reviewing literature on community education, citizen participation in planning and the intersection of these two fields (including aspects of community development); creating a start list of categories for qualitative analysis in research in this area; and engaging in a triangulated study of community education in its relation to citizen participation in planning in two towns.

The literature review was straightforward. The only difficulty involved the relative lack of work in the intersection of community education and community planning and development. Certainly the major problem of making sure the people who make decisions (especially in democratic processes) have access to the appropriate information is

noted widely, but very little literature exists on how to satisfy this need. One potentially fertile area for future research lies in examining the relationship of a community's high school curriculum to the problems and decisions citizens may be expected to face in participating in democratic activities in those communities.

For instance, there is very little literature on planning as a subject for study in public primary and secondary schools. Knack (1986) surveys work in elementary and middle school students and points to links between land-grant colleges and local schools, and Lahde (1982) has proposed a high-school level curriculum. Beyond these examples though, there seems to be very little written on primary or secondary education in planning, let alone any attempt to integrate the topic with general civic education.

Creating the start list of categories for qualitative research (see Chapter Four) was done through a survey of professionals, identified mainly through demonstrated activism in environmental planning and related fields; most had taken part in the New England Environmental Conference sponsored by the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University. The survey was intended to be iterative, a Delphi survey, but few who responded to the first survey went on to comment on the preliminary report.

The results of this process yielded a wide range of issues. Some of the most interesting and complex ideas were

found in the derived category of "general and context awareness and understanding," which included both social and environmental issues. Examples include "understanding the process for building consensus within the community, how town committees work, and how this relates to getting things through Town Meeting;" "knowing what [a] town will be like, given a full implementation of current by-laws and subdivision regulations;" and "knowledge of the implications associated with the removal of prime farmland from production."

These examples, given by professionals, point to a gap between what citizens should know before casting appropriately informed votes and the knowledge that they may be expected to have, given the local educational system and the probability that most citizens will not have had advanced education in these subjects.

One result of using the results of a survey of professionals to generate a start list was the difficulty of making the study broader than traditional planning without losing planning topics; most professionals were quite limited in their conception of the questions, and some responses included planning "answers" to problems without taking into account the process necessary to educate citizens about these issues.

The triangulated study of two towns attempted to shed light on the question, what are local issues surrounding

community education for participatory community planning and development?

The two towns were chosen using several criteria. First, both towns have an open Town Meeting-Board of Selectmen form of government; this allowed participants, or even non-participants, a reasonable expectation of having the town as a whole consider and act on any specific results of the study, if anyone so desired. The Town Meeting, contrary to current popular usage of the term, is a local legislative body in which all citizens of voting age vote on their town budget, thereby deciding their own tax rate. Local by-laws, including those concerning planning, are also passed in Town Meeting (planning by-laws need a two-thirds majority vote to pass).

Second, the two towns have similar geographical and environmental characteristics, and therefore similar land use problems. They have different social characters, though, so that some understanding may be reached as to how two socially dissimilar towns cope with similar planning problems.

Third, both towns have a previously developed consciousness of development problems, especially fiscal limitations on town functions. This allowed this study to center on creative solutions to development and fiscal pressures. Chapter Five, which set the social and environmental context of the study, showed how both towns have recently involved themselves with attempts to grapple

with these questions, one based on initiative from within the town, one based on a cooperative effort with a small, local educational institution dedicated to landscape design.

Though neither of these efforts has so far led to a change in process in either of the towns, both efforts have resulted in an increased awareness among citizens of major planning issues. It seems, then, that at least some citizens in both towns are educating themselves according to their perceived needs, as town resources and politics allow, providing a partial answer to the question, how can (and do) citizens effect community education for participatory development.

The triangulated study involved 1) a survey of recent planning records, 2) an offering of a series of meetings about community issues, and 3) a community survey.

The survey of professionals generated nineteen categories; to this were added fourteen more, derived from the triangulated study.

The main categories of suggested citizen competence in professional judgement, from Chapter Four, were: 1) General and context awareness and understanding; 2) knowledge of existing state and local planning tools; 3) sense of community/quality of life/democracy; 4) by-laws; 5) knowledge of town process, functions, and resources, excluding planning, zoning, fiscal; 6) zoning; 7) citizen participation/ involvement; 8) budget and fiscal; 9) environmental protection; 10) water and wetlands; 11) long-

term planning; 12) open space; 13) regionalization; 14) aesthetics; 15) citizen skills; 16) farmland preservation; 17) recycling and waste; 18) environmental ethics; and 19) public-private cooperation.

In Chapter Six the review of recent planning board records, five new categories were added; transportation-related items (20), internal board affairs (21), media (22), community education (23), and intergovernmental affairs (24), derived from topics discussed at planning board meetings.

In Chapter Seven, the community meetings, the category of economic factors (25) was derived.

In Chapter Eight, the results of the community survey, new categories included development pressures (26), communication (27), education (28), town character (as a planning concern, distinct from quality of life) (29), housing (30), infrastructure (other than waste and water) (31), and access (for the disabled) (32).

The examination of recent planning records in the towns shows some similarity between the concerns of professionals and planning board members, but the planning board members were in general, and unsurprisingly, more focused on topics of immediate concern, reacting to circumstances rather than providing progressively more developed frameworks for analysis and action.

It was this dedication of planning board time to topics of immediate concern which prompted Shays Town to form its

Long Range Planning Committee. Such a committee, if permanent and active, could satisfy the requirements of a community education and citizen participation program. Unfortunately, the Shays Town Committee was, though active, temporary.

The combination of categories derived from the professionals' survey and the review of planning board records seems fairly full and may prove to be a useful tool, as a checklist, in analyzing towns' areas of focus, pointing out undeveloped areas of concern.

The lack of general citizen involvement in the community meeting I offered was disappointing, but provided some insight into the workings of community education. First, there was a very limited time frame, necessary due to the nature of this study, which made a long-term nurturing of citizen interest and activity impossible. This led to perhaps inevitable frustrations; for example, the Town Clerk of Shays Town showed interest in the brochure I developed for the meetings, but this was after the scheduled sessions had ended.

Second, I was not a member of either community studied. This could have both positive and negative effects; as a positive aspect, the fact that I did not have a predetermined agenda, being disinterested in particular local issues, allowed me the opportunity to act as a neutral facilitator. Not being from the community meant that I had no deep understanding of community issues, though, producing

the negative effect of an ignorance about the history of issues, their development and spokespeople, and the particular way lines had come to be drawn regarding various issues.

The question of how to stimulate motivation was evident from the start. I had thought that because of both towns' previous awareness of both fiscal and planning issues, citizens might be ready for a broad-based attempt to look and community development comprehensively. Whatever degree of motivation this provided, it was insufficient to stimulate much interest (though this broad-based approach did spark some interest in Old Mills). See below for a further discussion of motivation in the context of citizen expectations of results from participating.

The towns' previous experiences at citizen participation in planning may have succeeded largely because they provoked strong initial negative reactions in citizens, using planning as a red flag. This was certainly true in Old Mills (Weber, personal communication) and seems to have been a major factor in Shays Town as well. Stimulating involvement through the perceived threat of negative consequences of not participating seems, therefore, effective, but for the positive approach of involvement in the collective determination of and development of a whole development path to stimulate citizens, the minimum requirement may be that citizens need to have a reasonable expectation of some fruitful result from their

participation. This expectation, in turn, is ever less easy to obtain as political and economic power is globalized, versus localized. This point, and some of its implications, are discussed more fully below.

The meetings did stimulate some secondary, almost invisible interest. It may be recalled from Chapter Seven that I received a letter from a citizen unable or unwilling to attend the meetings but wanting to express his opinion. This showed that there was some communication among citizens about what I was doing, even though they, by and large, weren't attending. Stimulating and monitoring this secondary level of communication should be an explicit goal in future research.

The community surveys were the most rewarding part of the triangulated study. Though some surveys were returned with simple, short answers, some respondents took advantage of the opportunity to air their concerns at length. One farmer, for example, wrote extensively about the difficulties of farming in the modern age; this kind of response was just what this section of the study was designed to elicit, and the richness of the answers was a major factor in the development of the list of categories. Surveys seem to be a very useful tool for enhancing democratic dialogue.

One of the most important results of the survey was the demonstration that the vision of citizens regarding both Town Meeting and planning was significantly different from

the official function of these bodies. On the negative side, this means that citizens expect more from their governmental structures than those structures are designed to give; on the positive side, this shows a desire for more, rather than less, democratic activity.

Similarly, the survey also demonstrated that people have a generally good idea of what bothers them but lack the requisite knowledge and ideas to form appropriate solutions. One function of the survey was to get people to give some attention to these issues. Given the wide range of thoughtful comments, this function was performed successfully.

What seems to be most needed for democracy to flourish in towns is a way to ease the effects of towns' current economic dependence on economic systems that are not democratically controlled, and on whose beneficence towns often seem completely at mercy (such as the building of malls which compete with downtown businesses by large development corporations, etc.). This implies that a potentially fruitful area for further research--especially research through locally developed community education--is the drawing together of a comprehensive, coherent, and integrated strategy for a transition to a more self-reliant local economy, a point discussed further below.

Discussion

My motivation for conducting this study began with two realizations; first, that most Americans seem unlikely to have the knowledge necessary to make the decisions come upon in their exercise of democracy, and second, that most Americans do not have access to a strong enough democracy to have a reasonable expectation of positive results from their participation.

Why this special concern about Americans? It is somewhat ironic that the academic background for this study was found largely at the Center for International Education, yet it was in that context that I saw the need for adult and community education in the First World, which largely powers the global development dynamic.

Much of the environmental destruction and social injustice in the world is directly related to the development path typified by the United States. The imperative in this system is neither environmental or social, but represent the sine qua non of one economic system, capitalism--that precondition being the ever-continuing growth of the system. The basic needs of citizens are subsumed under this imperative.

So long as citizens are dependent on this system for the satisfaction of their basic needs, they risk the non-satisfaction of those needs if the system needs to sacrifice individuals for aggregate growth. Only by being economically independent can people obviate this risk.

Economic independence at the individual level is possible insofar as an individual is willing to be self-reliant; as this can involve a great sacrifice through non-participation in a developed (but unsustainable) economy, the individual is handicapped. The problem becomes much more easily soluble at the community level through cooperative action; and it is at the community level that a collective decision-making process becomes necessary (barring a feudal system). Democracy being desirable in that it aims to preserve the greatest freedom for the greatest number, towns in New England with open Town Meetings present an attractive potential model for local self-reliant development.

The problem of independent action in a world in which people are dependent on an external, non-democratic political economy is seen in the fields of Adult and Community Education as the difference between holistically-based progressive community education as exemplified by Elsie Ripley Clapp (an exponent of the best of both the liberal and progressive traditions) versus discipline- or occupationally-based adult education, the legacy of the educational institutions of the non-democratic industrial age (Toffler, 1980).

Public schools seem peculiarly handicapped in educating people about controversial subjects, perhaps because of the possibility of pressure being brought to bear against teachers who represent unpopular viewpoints, even within the

context of general discussion. Planning is certainly one of these controversial topics, with libertarians opposed to the idea of any level of governmental control over property rights (based on an undemocratic, personal self-interest conception of government) and liberals opposed to any actions against the public good (based on a democratic, civic, and enlightened self-interest conception of government).

The educational aspect of Town Meeting was mentioned by four people, answers including "news dispersal, issue education;" "addressing new ideas, keeping up to date on issues;" and making "all residents aware of problems and future plans and possible financial projects in the long term planning." One person wrote that for Town Meeting to work well, it is "essential that smaller, more intimate discussions precede it to allow for more efficiency."

One fortuitous response in the community survey called for voter education as an adjunct to plan and zoning by-law preparation; this indicates a relatively high level of self-awareness of the need for further development in democratic decision-making.

This implies that another potentially fruitful area of future research is discovering how citizens perceive first, their own power, and second, the relation of their local budget to the development of their community. This could be examined in combination with an analysis of known direct relationships between fiscal autonomy and community

development, such as the acquisition of open space, the tax structure for farmland, the provision for and production of affordable housing, and the structure of the local public economy (ACIR, 1987).

Future research might also address the question of why people in towns with open Town Meetings aren't using their authority to develop progessively. How much of this is due to unfamiliarity with the issues, ignorance as to possible solutions, or cynical thought about the perceived minute effect of local decision-making?

This brings up, again, the question of how to stimulate citizens' motivation to involve themselves in local government. This issue came up in the community survey, showing some level of citizen awareness of the problem; one respondent asked how to counteract apathy and stimulate more involvement by citizens, a question to which I wish I had a succinct answer, though I believe the answer lies in a political-economic empowerment not yet evinced even in towns with open Town Meetings.

Unless people feel that results will obtain from their participation, there is no reason for them to spend time acting on any issue. So many of the issues that affect each of us--especially economic issues--seem so far beyond our control that any involvement can seem like a waste of time.

Citizens, globally, currently participate in, and are dependent on, both political and economic systems in which they have little or no voice. As these systems prove both

environmentally and socially destructive, to varying degrees, independence from these systems may become attractive. This can only be accomplished, however, if there is true independence at the local level; I believe this means self-reliance in the satisfaction of basic human needs, political, economic, and ecological.

This would entail the creation of a new local public economy (Rakoff, 1989), including a land trust to establish the real base and a credit union to establish the financial base. A public cooperative buying market would be an adjunct feature of such an economy but is not a prerequisite.

This scenario includes several aspects which go beyond the normal concerns of citizens. First, as people have traded their independence for convenience, the idea of self-reliance has become almost quaint; if there were not a tradition of Yankee ingenuity and thrift such a concept would be almost impossible to generate.

Second, even if it were seen as desirable, disengagement from an undemocratic and ecologically destructive economy is widely regarded as impossible. This may be because the structure of a local sustainable economy is as yet undeveloped, so people imagine a return to a former civilization rather than the creation of a new one. This, of course, seems--and probably is--unrealistic. The fact remains, though, that our current development path is not the only one possible; witness the development of our

current transportation system, which has been shaped at least as much by corporate policy as progress in the public good.

Local empowerment through Town Meeting is insufficient to stimulate involvement, as economic and political forces acting on towns overwhelm the capability of towns to chart their own courses. This rebuilding of democracy from the bottom up might very well include a high degree of regional, state and federal cooperation. Shays Town sends about five times its town budget to the federal government each year in federal income taxes; no wonder there is a good deal of debate over the relatively small amounts allocated at Town Meeting.

This relative lack of power forms its own dynamic, where the disempowered shield themselves from the indignity of energetic debate over relatively trivial affairs. One citizen responded to the community survey question about what the Town's might do to protecting things valued by citizens by writing, "I don't know. What do you suppose they can do? They might regulate somehow, but they can't stop [negative change]. Trying would be silly." The town here is conceived as "they" rather than "we." If this attitude can be held in a town with an open Town Meeting, it is easy, if uncomfortable, to imagine the extreme disempowerment of most Americans.

It is therefore to be expected that citizens are cynical about their power to change their lives. Global

economic forces, however unreasonably articulated at the local level, cannot be fought on their own terms. It may be possible to avoid these forces, however, through local self-reliance. If done through the open Town Meeting-Board of Selectmen system of government such a development would be democratic as well.

This points to a perceived need to relate action on warrant articles to a broader conception and understanding of a town's development path, without which decisions on subsidiary matters may not be sufficiently enlightened. It is the lack of such a general forum which was the major stimulus for this research, which has shown that there is a major gap between citizens' aspirations and their ability to act to satisfy them.

One major issue in at least the two towns in this study is that there are a substantial body of citizens who view Town Meeting as a necessary evil and planning the same, but perhaps not even necessary. Those who are traditionally most independent are the most likely to take this view, even to the extent of acting against their long-term interests by not participating in action which could lead to greater local self-reliance and therefore a community more in line with their philosophy.

Added to this is the reality in these towns that being opposed to planning is not perceived as "politically correct" and at least some of the proponents of this view feel unjustly marginalized; this may especially be the case

if they are unable to articulate their position in the debate of individualism versus socialism, or of the public versus the private good (let alone formulate a synthetic position of community-level self-reliance). There is also be a high degree of emotion invested in the subject; this, together with a strong defensive posture against a perceived opponent, would tend to dampen vocal opposition. Yet this opposition to planning remains, whether expressed in the reticence shown by those not participating in this section of the survey or not, and unless questions about planning can be considered and acted on openly and democratically, the community cannot be democratically healthy.

As an articulation of the assumed individualist, private good case is impossible from a lack of response, the possibility of deconstructing the argument and approaching the pieces from a democratic perspective is likewise impossible. The issue seems likely to remain a thorn in the side of the politics of similar communities until the kind of a dialogue aimed for in this study is successfully opened and facilitated.

One final result of this study is the demonstration of the implications of the Americans with Disabilities Act for local government. What degree of action is appropriate for a Town in ensuring access to Town Meeting and other public fora for those with disabilities? There were several respondents who cited physical reasons for not attending Town functions; some of these were still avidly interested

and followed the proceedings on the local cable television station. This suggests that some form of electronic communication such as voting by telephone might be appropriate in satisfying this need. Questions about access for the sight- and hearing-impaired still obtain, however, even with this possible solution. In any case, the need exists, and towns will have to think creatively to satisfy the intent of the law.

APPENDIX A

OLD MILLS SURVEY AND CONSENT FORM

209 Furcolo
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003
June 19, 1992

Dear Resident,

I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts, studying citizen's participation in community development planning. Your name was selected at random from 's voter registration list; I chose every seventh person.

I'd like your help in this study. I would appreciate it if you would take a half-hour or so to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. A copy of a consent form is also enclosed; while your signature is not required, it would be greatly appreciated. In any case, please read the consent form.

If you choose to take part, please return the questionnaire in the enclosed stamped, addressed envelope by July 11th. A copy of the results of my research will be made available to the Town when I am finished.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Thomas W. Hutcheson

Thomas W. Hutcheson

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please read the accompanying sheet which describes the research study of which this questionnaire is a part and asks for your participation and informed consent. Your signature is not necessary but would be appreciated.

A copy of the results of this research will be made available to the Town at its completion.

If your household has two or more people who wish to answer, please make a copy of the questionnaire for each person.

Your answers may be as brief or as lengthy as you like; if you don't want to answer any particular question, feel free to skip it. Please use extra sheets if you so desire. Filling out the questionnaire should take half an hour or less.

Please return by July 11th to: Thomas W. Hutcheson, 209 Furcolo, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003.

General questions

How old are you?

How long have you or your family lived in

Have you ever been involved in Town affairs? How and when?

What do you value most about

Is what you value about changing (for better or for worse)?

Does the Town have a role to play in protecting what you value?

Questions about Town Meeting

Do you normally go to Town Meeting? Why or why not?

Did you attend the latest annual Town Meeting? If not, why not?

Did you attend the latest special Town Meeting? If not, why not?

What do you see as the role of Town Meeting in planning?

Are there any issues not covered in Town Meeting you would like to address?

Questions about planning

What do you think of when you think of planning?

How do you feel about planning in general?

Are there particular planning issues you feel strongly about? What are they and what do you feel about them?

What do you see as the role of the town Planning Board?

Do you think anything about planning is happening that shouldn't be?

Do you think anything about planning should be happening that isn't?

Have you been involved in any planning issues previously?
Which ones?

Have you ever felt you needed information you couldn't get regarding a planning issue?

Questions about community development

How much of the money you spend weekly is spent in (circle one)?

over 1/2
about 1/2
about 1/4
less than 1/4

If the Town had a (non-profit) credit union to loan money to people in (for both personal and business reasons), would you open an account?

If there were a buying cooperative in town, would you use it?

Should the Town find ways to make it more affordable for people on fixed incomes to obtain affordable housing?

Should the Town find ways to make it affordable for people who grew up in to find affordable housing?

Should find ways to guarantee the place of farming in the local economy?

Should look at energy efficiency as a way to save money?

Do you recycle? Has recycling made your life better?

Do you see as being a better town ten years from now or not? Why?

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

I. Welcome to the Community Citizens' ~~Forum~~ Questionnaire!

My name is Thomas W. Hutcheson. I am a doctoral candidate at the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. I am researching community education and participatory community planning for my dissertation. The goal of the Community Planning Forum is both to provide information about planning to townspeople and to help discover people's thoughts and concerns about planning. I will do this by recording people's ideas during the forums, sending out a questionnaire, and looking at town planning records. If you have questions, please address them to me at ~~4 Chestnut Street, Florence, MA 01060~~. 209 Furcolo, UMass, Amherst, mat 01003

In order to be sure that everyone who participates in the Forum is aware that you are part of a research project which is going to be written up and published, I ask that you read this form carefully and sign below.

The results of my work (a copy of my dissertation) will be made available to the Town.

II.
Anonymity

When I write the results of the research, I will not use either the names of the town or the names of any individuals. If I find it necessary to quote someone's words, I will assign a pseudonym.

Not applicable

III.
Tape-recording

Throughout this project, I will be tape-recording the meetings. The tapes ensure that an accurate record exists of the meetings (both for my use and yours). Signing this form will mean that I may tape-record your participation. After I review the tapes they will be made available on permanent loan to the Town.

If you object to tape recording, or find that it interferes with your willingness to participate, please let me know. If I wish to use any information you wish to be included in ways other than those described here, I will ask your written consent in advance.

IV.

In addition to using the results of this research in my dissertation, I may use the results in journal articles, presentations, classroom instruction, and books.

V.

While consenting at this time to participate, you may withdraw from participating in this study at any time. If you wish to withdraw any specific

comment from use in my dissertation, you may do so provided you inform me of your wish within thirty days after your comments were made.

VIII.

In signing this form, you are authorizing me to use the material collected as described above. In addition, you are acknowledging that all documents generated by the research, including the audio-tapes, will become the property of the researcher, Thomas Hutcheson.

IX.

Finally, in signing this you are stating that 1) you will not hold the researcher responsible for any medical treatment should any injury result from participation in these forums and 2) that you will make no financial claim on the researcher for the use of your contributions to the forums.

I, _____ have read the above statement and agree
(please print your name)
to participate in this study under the conditions stated above.

_____ _____
signature date

APPENDIX B

SHAYS TOWN SURVEY AND CONSENT FORM

209 Furcolo
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003
August 12, 1992

Dear voter,

I am a doctoral student in the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, studying citizen participation in community development. I would like your help in finding out about . Your name was chosen at random from the town's voter list; I chose every seventh name.

I recently held a series of meetings (" Community Development--What Next?") in which some community members expressed their concerns, hopes, and ideas about the town and its future. I'd like to get your ideas as well.

Please fill out this questionnaire and consent form (it should take about 30-40 minutes) and send it to the address above. Your individual responses will be kept strictly confidential; I will forward a copy of the results to the Town when my research is complete.

The questionnaire has five parts: some general questions; questions about the " Community Development" meetings; questions about Town Meeting; questions about planning; and questions about community development.

Enclosed please find a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your convenience.

Thank you very much for your consideration, and thank you in advance to those who participate in this survey.

Sincerely,

Thomas W. Hutcheson

Thomas W. Hutcheson

(please see reverse for first page of questionnaire)

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of the " Community Development--What Next?" series. Please read the accompanying sheet which asks for your informed consent. A copy of the results will be made available to the Town.

If your household has two or more people who wish to answer, please make a copy of the questionnaire for each person.

Your answers may be as brief or as lengthy as you like; if you don't want to answer a question, skip it. Please use extra sheets if you so desire. Filling out the questionnaire should take forty minutes or less.

Please return by August 28 to: Thomas W. Hutcheson, 209 Furcolo, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003. Thank you for your cooperation!

General questions

How old are you?

How long have you or your family lived in ?

Have you ever been involved in Town affairs (other than Town Meeting)? How and when?

What do you value most about ?

Is what you value most changing? How?

What role does the Town have to play in protecting what you value?

Questions about the " Community Development--What Next?" meetings

Did you know about these meetings? If so, how did you hear about them?

If you heard about them, did the meetings sound interesting? Why or why not?

If you knew about the meetings and you were interested, and didn't come, what kept you from coming?

Questions about Town Meeting

Do you normally go to Town Meeting? For how long out of the day?

Did you attend the latest annual Town Meeting? If not, why not?

What do you see as the role of Town Meeting in community development?

Are there any issues not covered in Town Meeting you would like to address?

Questions about planning

What do you think of when you think of planning?

How do you feel about planning in general?

Are there particular planning issues you feel strongly about?

Do you think anything about planning is happening that shouldn't be, or that anything about planning should be happening that isn't? What?

Have you been involved in any planning issues previously?
Which ones?

Have you ever felt you needed information you couldn't get regarding a planning issue? What did you do?

Questions about community development

How much of the money you spend weekly is spent in (circle one)?
over 1/2
about 1/2
about 1/4
less than 1/4

Are there any new businesses or town functions you would like to see in ? What are they?

If the Town had a (non-profit) credit union to loan money to people and businesses in , would you open an account? If not, why not?

Should the Town find ways to make it more affordable for people on fixed incomes to obtain affordable housing? Why or why not?

Should the Town find ways to make it affordable for people who grew up in to find affordable housing in town? Why or why not?

Should find ways to guarantee the place of farming in the local economy? Why or why not?

Should look at energy efficiency as a way to save money?

Do you recycle?

How often do you use the library?

Do you see as being a better town ten years from now or not? Why?

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

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In order to be sure that everyone who participates in the Forum is aware that you are part of a research project which is going to be written up and published, I ask that you read this form carefully and sign below.

The results of my work (a copy of my dissertation) will be made available to the Town.

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Anonymity

When I write the results of the research, I will not use either the names of the town or the names of any individuals. If I find it necessary to quote someone's words, I will assign a pseudonym.

Not applicable

III.

Tape-recording

Throughout this project, I will be tape-recording the meetings. The tapes ensure that an accurate record exists of the meetings (both for my use and yours). Signing this form will mean that I may tape-record your participation. After I review the tapes they will be made available on permanent loan to the Town.

If you object to tape recording, or find that it interferes with your willingness to participate, please let me know. If I wish to use any information you wish to be included in ways other than those described here, I will ask your written consent in advance.

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While consenting at this time to participate, you may withdraw from participating in this study at any time. If you wish to withdraw any specific

comment from use in my dissertation, you may do so provided you inform me of your wish within thirty days after your comments were made.

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In signing this form, you are authorizing me to use the material collected as described above. In addition, you are acknowledging that all documents generated by the research, including the audio-tapes, will become the property of the researcher, Thomas Hutcheson.

IX.

Finally, in signing this you are stating that 1) you will not hold the researcher responsible for any medical treatment should any injury result from participation in these forums and 2) that you will make no financial claim on the researcher for the use of your contributions to the forums.

I, _____ have read the above statement and agree
(please print your name)
to participate in this study under the conditions stated above.

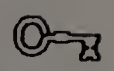
_____ _____
signature date

APPENDIX C

SHAYS TOWN BROCHURE

Without the need to make a profit, credit unions can provide services more cheaply than banks. *Community loan funds* also provide loans, though these typically operate through local banks.

Land trusts are non-profit real estate corporations, created to set aside land for particular uses such as conservation, farmland preservation, or affordable housing. One of the most innovative land trusts in the country is right here in --the Loomis Farm, part of the *Franklin Land Trust*. The Loomis Farm is dedicated to all three of the uses mentioned above.



The Town has decisions to make.

The town may decide that there are patterns of development it wants to encourage, such as development which stimulates the local economy or the increased availability of affordable housing. With the current recession, the dream of a good job and homeownership is increasingly out of reach for families.

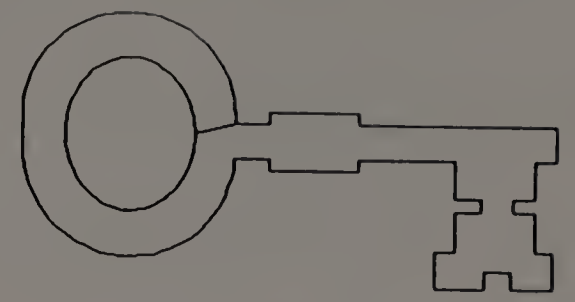
A credit union for local economic development and a land trust dedicated to giving natives the chance to settle in the area would help stabilize the economy in the long run. More people who have a personal stake in development--and who have a native sense of the natural value of the town--would benefit, and 's heritage could be preserved, improved, and passed on to future generations.

Prepared by Thomas W. Hutcheson, 209 Furcolo, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003

KEYS

to the

Future of



is needlessly dependent on economic systems it cannot control.

That is, *is not independent*. We cannot make decisions freely when we are dependent on an economic system that controls where our jobs, energy, and even food come from. We have neglected this basic principle of freedom. However, all towns with open town meetings are free to recreate and exercise their independence.

is dependent on energy systems which are harmful.

Our world--our daily life--is mostly powered by fossil fuels and nuclear power. These pollute and weaken our environment and our bodies. Yet we use this energy to drive our cars, heat and light our homes, to provide our communication, to power our way of life. We need local, diverse alternatives to this destructive energy.

is changing.

The of today is different than the of one hundred, fifty, or even ten years ago. Life today is much different than the time which gave the town its roads, farms, and village centers.

Part of what makes such a nice place to live is its typically New England development path. But , and the world, are changing, and unless considers its *long-term* future carefully, including planning to allow a stable local economy, the town may *lose its ability* to feel a sense of community.

's economy is changing.

The *shape* of 's economy is also changing. For example, there are only one-third the farm workers there were just ten years ago, but half again as many executives, managers, and administrators. There are one-fifth fewer machine operators or assemblers, but this is made up for, in a way, by gains in precision production.

and federal taxes:

The town budget is about $2 million. Yet residents pay about *$10 million each year* to the federal government in income taxes! Even if we think this money is well-spent, it is certainly not being spent in .

If the Town Meeting article urging the federal government to cut the military budget in half were acted on, and the money given back to towns based on population, would receive at least $1 million annually, or *half its budget*.

has no reason to expect any more money from the federal government or the state than it is getting now.

Revenue sharing (giving a proportion of federal money directly to states), started by President Nixon, was eliminated by President Reagan. The long-awaited peace dividend may be eaten up by the federal budget deficit. Though some economists say that we need to *increase* the deficit in the short term in order to give our economy a jump start, reinvesting our infrastructure (roads, bridges, utilities, etc.), Congress seems unwilling to do this. The alternative is raising taxes to pay for the deficit.

Meanwhile, Governor Weld is trying to cut the flat state income tax and is chipping away at the budgets of various state activities such as the University of Massachusetts and local aid to towns. This pattern is unlikely to change soon.

As individuals, citizens of can do little about their economic situation. As a town, however, there is much that can be done.

One step can take to increase its economic stability is to learn what the pattern of recent economic development has been, studying the 1990 census and comparing it with earlier years.

As citizens come to understand the changes going on in , and take time to discuss and debate the meaning of those changes and what needs to be done with their neighbors, they can act to preserve, create or recreate what they value most.

Citizens, acting together as a Town, can create policies which increase their independence and local economic vitality.

The town and its citizens should be thrifty, especially where energy is concerned.

Amory Lovins (Director of the Rocky Mountain Institute, or RMI) has an entire community economic development plan based on energy conservation and the reinvestment of the energy saved into the community. This plan is available for use through RMI.

Next steps: increase the ability of the town to cope with social and economic change and let make more of its own local investment decisions.

The people of should decide, independently, what kinds of business they want in town and seek to ensure that those businesses become part of the community, meeting *as a town* the economic influence of corporations which take more money out of the community than they put in.

Finally, the town may create public fiscal structures that address real needs.

There are two local fiscal structures that have considerable potential for increasing town independence: credit unions (and their cousins, community loan funds) and land trusts. These can contribute stability to community finance, affordable housing, and local economic development.

Credit unions are nonprofit banks which pool the savings of their members to provide member loans. They are typically created for a particular group of people (for example, UMass students have one and the Five College faculty and staff have one).

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